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HISTORY

LATE REVOLUTION

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HISTORY
OF THE
LATE REVOLUTION
IN THE
DUTCH REPUBLIC.



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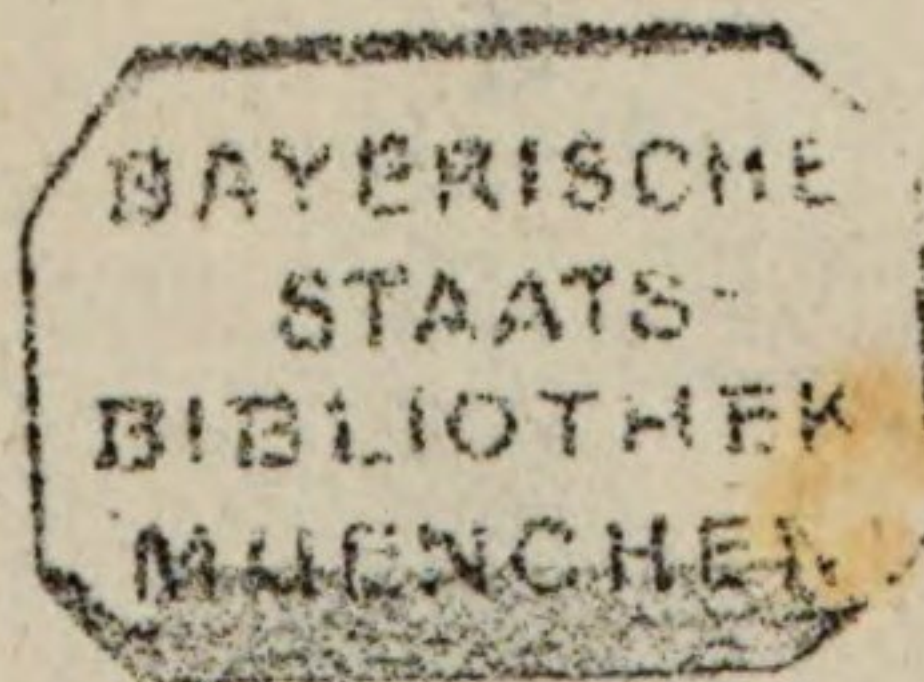


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THE following short work is an attempt to point out the principal causes of an event which has had a considerable influence on the general interests of Europe, and long engaged a great share of the public curiosity.

The Introduction, is a slight sketch of the Dutch Constitution, of which some knowledge is necessary, in order to comprehend the views and principles of the two parties in the Republic.

The First Section contains, a cursory view of the Dutch History, from the year 1747, when the Stadtholderate was renewed, in the person of William the Fourth, to the year 1780—the Second comprehends the four following years—and the Third, Fourth, and Fifth, contain the history of the years, 1785, 1786, and 1787.



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RAYENHOF
STADT
BILLOTH
MUNICH

INTRODUCTION.

THE different parts which constitute the Republic of the Seven United Provinces, appear to have experienced very little change since their original formation. During the dominion of the houses of Burgundy and Austria, the sovereign was separately received in each province; and in each, the great feudal land-holders, combining with the towns, had procured certain privileges which the sovereign bound himself by oath to maintain. By the union of Utrecht the sovereignty was transferred to

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the Provinces themselves, and those usages which before subsisted as privileges, became the essence of their several constitutions.

Each province is governed by its states, which are differently composed in the different provinces. The peculiarities by which they are distinguished will be explained hereafter; but in the mean time, a general idea of the whole may be formed from a description of the government of Holland, a province which has been the theatre of every revolution in the republic.

The States of Holland are composed of the nobles, and of the deputies of the towns. The nobles form a body which elects its own members, from whom it is required to prove the nobility of their birth, and their property in fiefs of a certain value, situated within the province. They possess collectively one vote in the Provincial States; they likewise send a deputy to the States General; another to the Council of State; another to the Council

Council of Deputies ; and one to each of the Admiralties of Rotterdam and Amsterdam. They name two counsellors in the Court of Justice, and two directors of the East India Company.

The towns in this province have their distinct usages and laws, but in general all have their Council or Senate, their Bailiff, their Burgomasters, and their Echevins.

The Council or Senate is a body more or less numerous, in which resides the whole power of legislation within the town : to it are likewise referred the resolutions taken in the states of the province, and it is consulted on those that remain to be taken. A seat in this council continues during life, and is a qualification for executing all the different offices in the republic.

The Bailiffs were originally officers chosen annually by the counts of Holland, to collect their revenues, and to represent them in the courts of justice : and it is

probably for this reason, that in most of the towns of the province, they are considered as the first magistrates in point of dignity. It is in their name that all criminal accusations and complaints in civil causes are exhibited. They usually preside in the Council of Burgomasters and Echevins, which distributes the principal offices in the gift of the town, and is the only tribunal at which the burghers can be tried. The Bailiff's office is usually triennial.

The Burgomasters are the magistrates charged with the whole direction of the police and finances of the town, and the Echevins, the administrators of civil and criminal justice; so that these three orders of magistrates divide amongst them the executive power. At Amsterdam the Council, or *Vroodshap*, elects its own members without any intervention of the Stadtholder. Of the four Burgomasters three are chosen annually, and the fourth remains in office two years. They are elected by a majority of what is called the
Old

Old Council, consisting of those who have already exercised the office of Burgomaster or Echevin. The Bailiff, or *haut officier*, is also appointed by the council, and does not take place of the Burgomasters. The Echevins, of whom there are nine, are chosen by the Stadtholder, from a double number of persons nominated by the senate. In most of the other towns all these magistrates are chosen in the same manner as the Echevins; and in many it is customary for the council to choose for its members such persons only as are recommended by the Stadtholder.

Eighteen towns possess the right of deputing to the States of Holland; consequently there are in this assembly nineteen votes, including that of the nobles. The persons of the deputies during the sitting of the States are sacred; they have general instructions for their conduct, and decide on common questions by a plurality of voices; but on great occasions their unanimity is necessary. The Pensionary

of Holland, or Great Pensionary, officiates as speaker in this assembly : he pronounces the opinion of the college of nobles, receives and delivers the proposals of the towns, sums up the arguments, and collects the votes. The States are at present almost constantly assembled. In former times they met only four times in the year, and were convoked by the *Gecommitteerde-Raaden*, or council of deputies.

This council is composed of ten members, one of which is deputed by the nobles of the province, and nine from the towns. The Great Pensionary officiates in this assembly, in the same manner as in that of the States, whose place it occasionally supplies. Its peculiar office is to regulate the finances, and superintend the troops in the province. A similar council is established at Hoorn, in North Holland, and the members of these two councils united, deliberate with the deputies of the States on the finances of the province.

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Such is the government of the province of Holland. It is an assemblage of several confederate municipal governments, in which the legislative and executive powers are held by an oligarchy, independent of the people, but subject, in different degrees, to the influence, though not to the controul, of the Stadtholder.

Though this is not the place to describe the constitutions of the other provinces, it may be proper to mention, that there are three which at present differ from Holland, as to a very important privilege. These are, Guelderland, Utrecht, and Overijssel, which are commonly called the *Provinces aux Réglemens*. In these provinces the magistrates of the towns are appointed immediately by the Stadtholder, instead of being selected by him, as in Holland, from a double or treble number of candidates nominated by the councils. He has likewise the right of removing the magistrates so chosen, after a certain number of years, which varies in each province.

These regulations, which were drawn up by the Pensionary Fagel, under the direction of William the Third, and established in 1674, were the price which the three provinces paid for their re-admission to the union, from which they had been separated by submitting to France in 1672; and the object of them was, to establish a balance of power between the province of Holland and the Stadtholder, to enable them, when united, to govern the republic, and to prevent either of them, when at variance, from gaining too great an influence.

The Seven Provinces considered as a republic, are governed by the assembly of the States General, in which each province has one vote, whatever may be the number of deputies by which that vote is conveyed. These deputies are paid by the province they represent; they are furnished with general instructions, but are bound to demand, on important occasions, the orders of their constituents, to whom they
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are in all cases amenable for their conduct. The principal deputy of each province presides by rotation during a week in this assembly. The *Greffier*, or secretary of the States, and the Great Pensionary, in quality of ordinary deputy from the province of Holland, assist every day at their meetings. Both these places are for life, as are the missions of the deputy from the ecclesiastical body in the province of Utrecht, and those of the deputies from the nobles of Utrecht and Holland. The others are only for a term of years.

In the territories of the Generality, by which are meant the countries which have been annexed to the republic since the union, the States General represent the sovereign: they have the entire direction of the troops, name the governors of the towns, and, in some instances, appoint the magistrates. They likewise name all staff-officers in the whole army of the republic, and all ministers to foreign courts: they appoint to the offices of *Greffier*, of Treasurer

fur General, of Receiver General of the States, of Secretary to the council of state, and to various other posts of honour or emolument. They receive propofals from foreign princes, and confer with their ambaffadors : but all the interior rights of fovereignty are referved to the States of the feveral provinces. They alone can impofe taxes ; and their fpecial confent is neceffary in order to form alliances, to declare war, or to make peace, fo that in thefe cafes the States General are only the organs of their refolutions.

The Council of State, instituted in 1584, was vefted with almoft the entire direction of the republic. Its power was afterwards fwallowed up in that of the Earl of Leicester; was recovered at his abdication; has been confiderably diminifhed fince the States General became fedentary at the Hague; and is now confined to the direction of the army and finances of the republic.

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The Council institutes courts-martial, and sometimes judges the causes appropriated to such courts : it has the care of the fortifications and magazines in the territories of the Generality, and in the frontier towns of Guelderland and Overijssel. In short, it is charged with the execution of all the orders of the States on military affairs.

The administration of the finances comprehends the contributions levied in the enemy's country in time of war, the revenues of the Generality, and those of the Seven Provinces.

The sums comprised under the first description are levied by an Intendant named by the Council, but acting in the name of the States General, and are paid into the hands of the Receiver General.

The revenues of the Generality are either levied by Receivers, or granted on lease to certain farmers, called *Pachters*.

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The taxes on land, on sales, on stamps, &c. are levied in the former mode : the excise, the capitation, and tax on cattle are farmed. The customs are not levied by the Council, but by the different Admiralties.

With respect to the contribution of the provinces to the republic, the Council of State prepares every year a statement of the ordinary expences (called the *Etat de la Guerre*), accompanied by a discourse explanatory of the different articles. This discourse is called the *General Petition*, because it was formerly usual to insert in it a requisition of the necessary funds : but at present, the great articles of expence are granted upon particular petitions from the Council. When the provinces have unanimously consented to this statement, they either transmit their respective contributions to the Receiver General, or apply them to the purposes for which they are intended, on assignations or acts of requisition from the Council of State. As the
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repartition of these sums is the scale which measures the relative wealth of the provinces, it may be worth while to observe that Holland contributes about 58 per cent, Guelderland about $5\frac{1}{2}$, Zealand 9, Utrecht $5\frac{3}{4}$, Overijssel $3\frac{1}{2}$, Friesland $11\frac{1}{2}$, Groningue and the Ommelanden $5\frac{3}{4}$, and the country of Drenthe not quite one per cent, to the expences of the republic.

The Council of State is composed of twelve deputies, of which Holland sends three, Zealand, Friesland, and Groningue, two each, and each of the other provinces one. These deputies preside by rotation. The Treasurer General, and the Receiver General assist in this assembly, but have no votes, excepting when the Council confers with the States General. The Stadtholder has likewise a seat, and his advice is first asked, and, on military affairs, usually followed.

Another college subordinate to the States General, is that of the Chamber of
Accounts

Accounts of the Generality. It is composed of fourteen deputies, of which two are sent from each province. Their office is to examine the accounts of the different Admiralties, and those of the Receiver General.

The Stadtholder is the governor of a province. Whilst the Low Countries were possessed by the houses of Burgundy and Austria, the Stadtholders were their representatives; and after the union of Utrecht, the five provinces which recognized William the First as their governor, only continued to him those rights and privileges which he had before enjoyed in Holland and Zealand by the appointment of the king of Spain. The same powers were successively granted to Prince Maurice, to Frederick Henry, and to William the Second. These Stadtholders had the right of pardoning criminals, they presided in the provincial courts of justice, and their names were prefixed to the decrees of those courts: they were charged with

with the execution of the decrees past in the States ; they appointed, either immediately, or from a nomination of the towns, nearly all the magistrates, and they commanded the forces of the province by sea and land.

Some zealous republicans had very early taken umbrage at the extent of these privileges, and Barneveldt had fallen a sacrifice in the attempt to diminish the power of Maurice. But the violent conduct of William the Second, in endeavouring to subjugate the town of Amsterdam by means of the army of the republic, had raised such general clamours that the faction of the De Witts were enabled to procure, in 1667, the famous perpetual edict by which the young Prince of Orange and his successors were for ever excluded from the Stadtholderate. The progress of the French arms in 1672 produced the assassination of the De Witts, and the election of William the Third, in whose family the dignity was declared hereditary ; but
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his death in 1702, without children, occasioned a second interruption of the Stadtholderate, which lasted till 1747; when the alarm produced by the irruption of the French into Dutch Brabant gave rise to another revolution in favour of William the Fourth, who, being already governor of Friesland and Groningue, united for the first time the Stadtholderate of all the seven provinces: and this dignity was declared hereditary in the male and female branches of his family. The States of Holland, in a resolution dated the 16th Nov. 1747, declare themselves “*convinced from experience, and after mature deliberation on the nature of the constitution, that the republic cannot subsist without a chief.*” It seems then that we are to consider the Stadtholder as an essential part of the constitution; and that he is not an immaterial part of it, will appear by an enumeration of his privileges.

In Guelderland, Holland, and Utrecht, he participates in the sovereignty as president

dent of their bodies of nobles ; and in Zealand as only noble of the province ; and he has a right of assisting, though not of voting, at the deliberations of the States General. In his executive capacity, he is principal member of the Council of State, which, in military affairs, is almost entirely under his direction. He presides in all courts of justice, and has a right of pardoning criminals. As captain general and admiral, he commands all the forces of the republic by sea and land. He disposes of the *patents* or written orders for marching the troops, and although these patents ought to be accompanied by what is called a *lettre d'attache*, or permission from the towns through which the troops are to march, he has the means of stationing the army as he pleases. He publishes all military ordinances. He names all colonels and inferior officers, by virtue of the right which was made over to him by the different provinces ; and, as the superior officers are constantly appointed by the States General in conformity to his wishes, he vir-

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tually possesses the whole patronage of the army. He names all vice-admirals and captains in the navy, institutes all courts-martial, and presides in the different admiralties.

In the three *Provinces aux Réglemens* he appoints to all offices whatever, and in Holland and Zealand he annually elects the greater part of the magistrates from a double number of candidates presented by the towns. He chooses, from a nomination of three candidates, every officer in the department of the States of Holland, and of their chamber of accounts, and all the members of the college of the Heemraaden, or superintendants of the dykes. He disposes of all the posts in the nomination of the Council of State, and of the *Gecommitteerde Raaden*, or council of deputies. He was created, in 1749, governor general and supreme director of the East and West India companies, with the right of choosing all the other directors from a treble number of candidates named by the company.

company. In short, his influence pervades every department in the state.

Besides these, the Stadtholder claims the right of appointing a military tribunal, called the *High Council of War*. This tribunal was established by William the Third, and was entirely under the direction of the Stadtholder. As it tended to shelter the military from the common courts of justice, its power was considered as of a dangerous tendency, and its legality was often questioned by the *Cour d'Hollande*, but it was not limited either in 1747, or at the accession of the present Stadtholder in 1766. It was indeed reformed in 1781, by the patriots, and may possibly never be revived.

By the commission from the States General to the late Prince of Orange, dated 12th May, 1747, he was invested with full powers to command the whole forces of the republic, for the purposes (among others) of “maintaining and preserving
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the union, and of *supporting the present form of government.*” It is difficult to understand what degree of power was intended to be conveyed by these words: what acts are to be deemed infractions of the union, or innovations on the constitution; and who is to judge of such innovations and infractions.

Perhaps it would be happier for the republic if the Stadtholder, whose office is intended to connect and assimilate the jarring elements of this complicated constitution, were invested with more power and less influence. Prerogative is usually odious in a free country, but, when exactly defined, it is surely less dangerous than influence. The most timid Stadtholder would not hesitate to employ powers expressly granted to him for the suppression of faction, and the boldest could not with safety exceed them. At present, the Stadtholder, though he has very little share in the sovereignty, has the right of choosing the sovereigns of the republic; because the deputies to the provincial states are necessarily

cessarily magistrates, and because the magistrates are in general chosen by the Stadtholder. It seems probable that the influence arising from hence, and from the whole patronage of the army, might easily be converted into power, and that an artful and ambitious governor might become absolute, without the danger usually attendant on arbitrary sovereignty, because he would reign under the forms of a free government. William the First, we know, was on the point of becoming master of the republic. Maurice was able to bring Barneveldt to the block. Accident alone prevented William the Second from establishing a military government within the walls of Amsterdam. William the Third was certainly as much a sovereign in fact at the Hague as at London. On the other hand, a long minority would probably be again fatal to the Stadtholder, and produce a De Witt or a Van Berkel. During the infancy of the Stadtholder, the influence and patronage must be transferred somewhere, and they can no

where be transferred with safety. Every thing would fall into confusion, until despair, or the interference of some neighbouring nation, should incite the people to take the government into their own hands, and re-establish the constitution.

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HISTORY, &c.

WILLIAM the Fourth had been elected with every appearance of unanimity, and the different provinces had vied with each other in expressions of attachment to his person. Even those who, from being masters of the republic, were by this sudden and unexpected revolution reduced to a private situation, hastened to lay their power at the feet of the Prince of Orange, and appeared to rejoice in their own degradation. In fact, they were too wise to resist at a moment when their opposition must be fruitless, and might be dangerous. They knew that every change

must be in their favour. The hereditary affection of the people for the house of Orange was already carried almost to idolatry : the excessive expectations founded on the restoration of the Stadtholderate, could not easily be realized ; and if they were disappointed, the enthusiasm of the nation might soon subside into indifference. It was probable, that of those who had contributed to the Prince's elevation, some might over-rate their services, and, if not gratified to the extent of their hopes, might leave him in disgust : and it was possible that the Prince himself might be satisfied with the advantages he had already gained, might be lulled into security, and give his enemies time to prepare for resistance at some future period.

In these expectations they were not entirely disappointed. The Stadtholder, astonished at the complete success of a revolution which had been set on foot by the accidental zeal of a few armed burghers in a small town in Zealand, forgot all
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resentment against his enemies in his gratitude to the nation at large. He was induced to think, that it would ill become the chief of the republic to consider himself as head of a party, and that such a conduct would be peculiarly ungracious at a moment when all ranks of people were giving him the most unequivocal testimonies of their affection. The republic had been long harraſſed and weakened by its internal diſſentions: it ſeemed therefore natural to ſuppoſe that all muſt wiſh ſtability to the preſent government, unleſs new enemies were raiſed againſt it by ill-timed perſecution. It was obvious, that there exiſted no preſent danger: the ſucceſſion was ſecured not only to the male but even to the female heirs of the Prince of Orange; and no power ſeemed ſufficiently ſtrong to overthrow an hereditary Stadtholder of all the Seven Provinces, inveſted with ſuch powers as had lately been added to thoſe of all former governors. The conduct of William the Fourth was probably decided by theſe reflections,

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for he seems to have received all persons who approached him with affability, and even with confidence, and to have avoided any retrospect to their former conduct.

The most zealous of his friends, however, did not forget to warn him of the dangers which they foresaw to himself and his posterity. They insisted “ That much remained to be done ; and that in order to give stability to the new constitution, it was necessary to use in its full extent the power granted to him by the temporary enthusiasm of the nation, by introducing into all the magistracies persons well affected to his family. That he must establish in every province a committee of confidential friends to superintend and animate his party there. That the project of governing without a party was perfectly impracticable, since it was impossible to conciliate enemies who were at the same time his rivals, and to whom he could only offer as a favour a participation in that authority which they had before enjoyed,

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to the exclusion of his family, and which they hoped to wrest entire from himself or from his successors. That therefore the only question was, whether he chose to combat this faction with the united strength of all his friends, or oppose to it only the desultory efforts of a few individuals ?”

These, and similar arguments were repeatedly urged by the Prince's friends in a variety of memorials from the year 1749, till the time of his death, and were accompanied by many interesting details on the condition of the army and navy, and on the state of parties in the different towns and provinces of the republic, all tending to shew the instability of the new government, and the necessity of watching over it with unceasing attention. Unfortunately these memorials were written by friends fully conscious of their own services : they spoke disagreeable truths in plain and even harsh language ; they were addressed to a prince flushed with success,

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and were consequently disregarded. The army, however, was an object too essential to the interests of the Stadtholder to be long neglected. The soldiers were dispirited by ill success ; the officers, most of whom had been appointed with a view to secure some municipal interest, were ignorant, dastardly, and presumptuous ; Count Maurice of Nassau, Field-marshal of the republic, and Cronstroem, who had lost Bergen-op-Zoom, were too old and infirm for any active office ; and the Prince of Waldeck had left the army in disgust. It was necessary therefore to look abroad for some officer on whose zeal and attachment the Prince might safely rely, and whose reputation was sufficiently established to secure the confidence of the soldiery, and give weight to the projected reform. For this purpose the Stadtholder made choice of Prince Lewis of Brunswick, whom he engaged, after a long negotiation, to quit the service of the Empress Queen, in which he was at that time engaged, and to accept the command of the Dutch army. This
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was nearly the last act of the Stadtholder's life. He is said indeed to have proposed to the States General some plans for the extension of the Dutch commerce, which evinced his zeal, and gained him great popularity. He died on the 22d of October 1751, after a short illness, generally lamented. The nation appear to have loved him almost to adoration, partly perhaps on account of the favours they had conferred on him. If we may believe the King of Prussia, he was caustic and satirical, and for that reason rather feared than beloved by his familiar acquaintance. But his public behaviour was affable and condescending; and he was an exact observer of all religious duties, a circumstance by no means unimportant among a people so punctilious in their devotion. Upon the whole, his faults and his merits were rather those of a prince born to dominion, than of one who had been raised to it.

The loss of the Prince of Orange at a time when none of the plans for the settlement

tlement of the state were carried into execution, was severely felt by his party. From this moment the different regents who had been dismissed from their employments began to resume them, and the strength of the faction increased so rapidly at Amsterdam, that the friends of the house of Orange were in a short time totally excluded from the government. The Princess Anne, daughter of George II. though not deficient in talents, was very little acquainted with the spirit of the nation which by her husband's death she was called upon to govern. She was alarmed at the prospect of the dangers to which, in the event of her death, her infant son would be exposed, and saw no better means of avoiding them than by securing the eventual guardianship of her children, and regency of the state, to Prince Lewis of Brunswick, on whom she in the meantime devolved a considerable share of her authority.

Prince

Prince Lewis was born in 1718. In 1736 he engaged in the Imperial army, and served during the four following campaigns against the Turks. In 1741, he was raised to the rank of lieutenant general; and at the same time the duchy of Courland becoming vacant by the banishment of Biron, he was invited by the Princess Anne of Mecklenburg, then regent of the Russian empire, to offer himself as a candidate. He was in fact elected by the States; after which he proceeded to St. Petersburg, where he expected to receive the consent of the king and republic of Poland, which was necessary to confirm his election. But the revolution which took place on the 6th of December, put an end to the regency of the Princess Anne, and to his hopes in Courland. For a few days he was treated as a prisoner, and was not permitted to leave Russia till the month of February, 1742. From 1743 to the end of the war, he served successively on the Mein, in Alsace, in Bohemia, and in the Low Countries, and was present

sent at the battles of Dettingen, Sorr (where he was dangerously wounded) Rocoux, and Lawfeld, at which he conducted the reserve. In October, 1747, he was appointed to command, during the winter, the troops intended to cover the frontiers from the river Endracht to Nimeguen, and in consequence of this nomination became acquainted with the Prince of Orange, who was at that time at the *Vieux Bois*, and who then first proposed to him to take the direction of his intended reform in the Dutch troops. The same request was repeated at several times, and at length, after obtaining the consent of the empress queen, he agreed to enter into the service of the republic, with the rank of Field-marshal, with the annual pay of 60,000 florins, and a promise of the first vacant government, and of the eventual command of the Dutch guards. He arrived at the Hague in December 1750.

The States General, and the different provincial assemblies unanimously applauded the

the choice of their Stadtholder, and fulfilled all the promises he had made to Prince Lewis. They likewise on many subsequent occasions bestowed on him the most distinguishing marks of their regard ; but these public testimonies are not always a sure proof of national satisfaction. Prince Lewis was a foreigner, he possessed the most lucrative offices in the republic, and he was at the head of an army which had always been an object of jealousy to the nation. Neither was he much beloved by the army itself, which he endeavoured to subject to the strictness of German discipline, and into which he desired to introduce a number of foreign officers, to the exclusion of the natives. His military talents indeed were unquestioned ; but military talents are of little estimation in a country solely devoted to commerce.

These causes of dislike, however, though they fermented in silence, did not produce any immediate interruption of the general tranquillity. The violent impulse given to

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the executive power by the late revolution had not quite spent its force: the Orange party were secure of the affections of the people, and formidable from the prospect of support from England; while their adversaries could look for no foreign assistance, because the courts of Vienna and Berlin were occupied by much nearer interests: and France since the irruption in 1747 was universally execrated by the nation: besides which, none of these powers could have any pretence for interfering in the domestic concerns of the republic. This state of affairs was greatly altered by the war of 1756.

At the commencement of this war England was threatened with an invasion, and Colonel Yorke was directed to apply to the States General for the troops which they were obliged by treaty to furnish. With this request, however, they could not easily comply. The state of the army and navy was so deplorable, and the extent of their debt so alarming, that the States by interfering

fering in the quarrel would have gratuitously exposed the government to the general hatred of the people, and perhaps have hazarded the very existence of the republic. These reasons appeared so forcible that it was determined to adopt a system of neutrality, which was recommended by Duke Lewis. The court of England acquiesced in the necessity of the measure, and obtained a letter of thanks for this instance of their moderation. In the mean time the French, who found themselves crippled in their naval exertions from the number of ships taken by the English at the commencement of hostilities, were obliged to permit the importation of their colonial produce in neutral vessels, and thereby threw the greatest part of their West Indian trade into the hands of the Dutch. This measure, which originated in necessity, was soon found to answer a beneficial political purpose. The two nations were thus in some measure united by a common interest: the trading towns in Holland began to think that a

connection so lucrative to themselves, was a full indemnification for the evils which the French arms had a few years before occasioned to the republic ; and this favourable disposition was farther improved by a few bounties granted by France on the importation of Dutch commodities. The English, on their part, seized the property of their enemies wherever they found it ; and they found it very frequently in the vessels of their allies. This piratical conduct, as it was then called, produced a violent clamour in Holland : the trading towns loudly insisted on the restoration of their ships and cargoes ; and, when they found the court of London little disposed to listen to their demand, required of the Regent and of the States a convoy sufficient to protect their flag from any future insult.

Such a measure would have necessarily led to hostilities ; but the provinces of Guelderland, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen, who were very little interested in
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the dispute, and by no means disposed to gratify the province of Holland at such an expence, absolutely refused their consent to any augmentation of the navy, until the army should be likewise augmented, and enabled to protect the frontiers of the republic against any invasion. The Princess Regent of course held the same language. The English minister negotiated, and the States General wrote repeated letters to the States of Holland, exhorting them to unite with the other confederates in such a plan as should assure to the neutrality of the republic a proper degree of respect from foreign powers. These conciliatory measures proved ineffectual. The faction refused the augmentation of the army, as tending to increase the influence of the Stadtholde- rate: they knew, that in defending the rights of commerce they stood on popular ground; and were not anxious to terminate a dispute which gave them strength, and embarrassed their adversaries. The towns of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Haarlem, Dort, Tergau, and the Brielle, filled

the ears of the people with incessant clamours against the injustice and rapacity of Great Britain, the partiality of the Regent to the English cause, and her inattention to the interests of the republic. At length, this disagreeable affair was terminated by the successive capture of nearly all the French colonies whose trade had been the original cause of dispute. But the attachment of the nation to the Orange family had been considerably weakened ; the English popularity was at an end : the Dutch could not forget the insults offered to their flag in Europe, and the complete disgrace of their arms in Asia. The court of Versailles had recovered a footing in Holland, and with it the hopes of seducing the republic from its connection with Great Britain.

The Princess Regent died on the 12th of January, 1759 ; and on the following day Duke Lewis took the oaths to the States, as guardian and representative of the young Prince of Orange. No event of
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much importance occurred during his administration, which terminated in 1766, by the majority of William the Fifth, the present Stadtholder.

The accession of this prince seemed to re-animate the loyalty of the nation : all the privileges hitherto annexed to his high office were confirmed to him without opposition ; and during the first ten years of his government, his tranquillity was not materially disturbed by any efforts of the faction. The vexations to which he has been since exposed, owe their origin to the disputes between Great Britain and America.

The great question respecting the right of taxation, was decided in England by persons labouring under a heavy load of taxes, desirous of transferring a part of that load on the shoulders of the colonists, and convinced that so natural a desire must also be just and reasonable. The rest of Europe judged differently. The English

cabinet, in framing the peace of 1763, had evidently preferred the pleasure of insulting their enemies to the advantage of weakening them, and soon after took an opportunity of expressing their indifference to the interests, and contempt for the power of the King of Prussia ; whereby they effectually alienated the affections of their old ally, without gaining a single friend. Every nation in Europe took umbrage at the power and insolence of Great Britain, and as none of them could be benefited by the subjugation of America, all wished success to the insurgents.

In this wish the Dutch were particularly ardent. They had been witnesses to the extraordinary growth of the English power, which they attributed to the monopoly of the trade with the colonies, and they hoped that if America should become independent, this trade would be laid open, and that a considerable share in it would be acquired by the republic. The French, who had determined to take a part in the quarrel

rel as soon as their rivals should be sufficiently weakened, immediately learnt this disposition of the Dutch, and resolved to turn it to their own advantage.

While the force of Great Britain remained entire, the court of Versailles did not think it wise to risk a war for the support of a party in Holland. Her ambassadors at the Hague had contented themselves with holding out to their friends vague assurances of support, and with shewing their dislike to the Prince of Orange, by such marks of flight and disrespect as they thought likely to injure him in the opinion of his countrymen. But now it was resolved to employ more vigorous exertions : and the direction of these was entrusted to the Duke de la Vauguyon, who in 1776, succeeded to M. de Noailles, as ambassador to the States General.

This minister has acquired a very distinguished reputation amongst modern statesmen. Neither his person, which was clumsy,

clumsy, nor any part of his appearance, announced superior ability ; though he possessed, in common with many of his countrymen, elegance of diction, plausibility of argument, and that arrogant servility of manners, which in courts is called good breeding. He found in Holland a powerful party, with which he united ; a well-concerted plan of operations, which he adopted ; the agents whom he employed were perfectly acquainted with the passions and views of every individual in the republic ; and he was abundantly provided with all the means of corruption.

Hitherto every revolution in favour of the Stadtholder had been produced by the violent interposition of the nation at large. For this reason the *patriots* (for so the French party called themselves) began by endeavouring to ruin the Prince of Orange in the affection of the people, and the success of this attempt was greatly accelerated by the frank and unguarded conduct of the Stadtholder. Soon after the beginning of
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the troubles, the Dutch, by means of their colony at St. Eustatius, had opened a most lucrative branch of trade with North America; and the progressive profits of this trade, while they raised the most sanguine expectations of future advantage, added new zeal to the advocates for American independence. Unfortunately the Prince of Orange was a most decided advocate in favour of the English cause; and was so far from concealing his opinion, that he repeatedly used his whole influence in the state to procure a prohibition of all intercourse with the insurgents. These measures did him infinite mischief. Even in the English parliament, the arguments in favour of the Americans were numerous and forcible, and the conduct of the ministry was by many attributed to a lust of power, and to a desire of oppressing civil liberty in every part of the empire. The same arguments were repeated in Holland, and applied with still more violence to what was called the wanton interference of the Stadtholder in a cause where, neither

ther he, as servant of the republic, nor even the republic itself were called upon to decide. Every day produced the most virulent libels against the Duke of Brunswick, who was accused of having instilled into the mind of his pupil that propensity to vast and inordinate ambition which his conduct was supposed to discover; and, as the attachment of the people became weaker, the pamphleteers acquired more courage, and began to treat the character of the Prince himself with every species of outrage. The prodigious effect of the press at this time proves, how much the most violent paroxysms of party rage in other countries are exceeded by the persevering rancour of a Dutch libellist. These formidable pamphlets, addressed to the populace of Amsterdam, and other towns in Holland, and drawn up in language equally worthy of the writers and the readers, contained little more than a dull string of falsehoods, too gross for the purposes of common imposition. Cruelty, indolence, presumption, stupidity, drunkenness, and
libertinism

libertinism exceeding the bounds of ordinary profligacy, were boldly imputed to the young Stadtholder ; all means of exculpation were carefully prevented by the vigilance of the magistrates who superintended the press ; and the people were at length wearied into a belief of these enormities, or at least into a general distrust in all the rulers of the republic.

This discredit of the Stadtholder, the advantages of the trade with America, the intrigues and profusion of the French ambassador, the ill success of the English arms, the high opinion of the power of France, and the appearance of that powerful combination with which she was preparing to attack her rival, increased every day the hostile disposition of the republic towards Great Britain. The governor of St. Eustatius openly protected the Americans, and treated them as an independent nation. The States General it is true disavowed his conduct, but at the same time took occasion in the same memorial (of
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1777 { the 26th March, 1777) to reprobate in the strongest terms the dictatorial language in which Sir Joseph Yorke had conveyed the accusation. The situation of England was now considered as desperate. The affair of Saratoga happened on the 17th of October, and on the 6th of February following the court of Versailles signed their defensive treaty with America, which they immediately afterwards notified to the English cabinet.

It should seem that the vexatious opposition which was now every where raised, must have opened the eyes of the Prince of Orange and of his counsellors to a sense of his danger ; but although he was completely thwarted in the province of Holland, he still continued to rely on the supposed superiority of his strength in the States General. It is evident that the original union of the provinces was produced, and has always been preserved by their fear of a foreign enemy ; and that the degree of this apprehension cannot be equal

equal in all the provinces, but must greatly depend on their vicinity to the frontier, and on the extent of their internal means of defence. Accordingly, the provinces of Guelderland, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen, which are commonly called the *Land Provinces*, will be usually directed by the interests of the union, and by those of the Stadtholder, as chief of the union ; besides which, three of these provinces are in a great measure dependant on him by means of the *Reglémens*, to which they are subject. Hence, as each province has one vote in the States General, the Stadtholder is usually possessed of a majority in that assembly.

On the other hand, the province of Holland contributes more than half of the annual national revenue ; and, on account of the defect which frequently happens in the payments of the weaker provinces, occasionally furnishes nearly seventy per cent. of the whole contribution ; it is obvious
therefore

therefore that an union between all the towns in this province can scarcely fail to force the whole republic into such measures as they shall think fit to prescribe. At this time too being closely connected with France, they had little to fear from without, and were determined rather to withdraw themselves from the confederation, than fail in their projected attack on the Stadtholder.

On the 4th of September, 1778, the eventual treaty of commerce between the town of Amsterdam and the United States of America was signed at Aix la Chapelle, by order of Van Berkel, one of the pensionaries of Amsterdam. This daring step, which was at once a violation of the union, and of former treaties with Great Britain, was indeed concealed from the public; but the merchants of Amsterdam, in their memorials to the States, insisted on the appointment of convoys to protect their trade with France, at the same time offering their assistance to defend the republic
against

against the consequences that might attend such a measure. It is not improbable indeed that they trusted greatly to the weakness of Great Britain, and believed that they had found the moment of insulting her with impunity ; but this belief proves their complete and unreserved confidence in the assurances of France. In fact, from this moment the French ambassador became the virtual dictator of the republic, and nothing was left to Sir Joseph Yorke but the bauble of representation, and the farcical interchange of unavailing memorials with the assembly of the States General.

Amsterdam was now completely engaged in the French quarrel, and the towns of Rotterdam and Dort had concurred with that city in its last and most violent memorial. It was evident, however, that these mercantile bodies were acting under the impression of temporary frenzy, in direct opposition to their real interests ; it was to be apprehended that they might open their

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eyes to the danger of their present measures, and prefer the benefits of a neutral trade, however circumscribed, to the certain expences of a war; an opposition might be formed even in Amsterdam itself; this might be joined by the friends of the Stadtholder, and the faction which now governed the province might be dispossessed of their power. The court of Versailles determined therefore, by acting on the fears and hopes of the Dutch, to draw them if possible into such measures as they should afterwards be unable to retract, and thereby force them to resign themselves unconditionally to her guidance. With this view the French ambassador demanded on the 8th of December, 1778, a specific explanation of the degree of protection which the States were disposed to grant to their commerce; explaining to them at the same time that it was the intention of the king his master to confine his respect for the Dutch flag within the same limits as should be observed by the court of London. And on the 14th of January,

January, 1779, an edict was published at Versailles, imposing a duty of freightage on all Dutch ships, excepting those belonging to the city of Amsterdam, which was exempted in consequence of its patriotic exertions in favour of a free navigation. This edict excited the most violent transports of joy in the favoured city, and a proportionate degree of dismay in the other towns, which henceforward determined to purchase at any rate the favour and protection of the French court.

The Spanish declaration on the 17th of June, 1779, and the project of an armed neutrality transmitted from Russia on the 3d of April, 1780, seemed to complete the distress of Great Britain, and carried to the highest pitch the insolence of the Patriots in Holland. The perseverance of the Prince of Orange in his former sentiments, and his attempts to stop the republic on the verge of ruin, were useless to the English cause; exasperated, without weakening the Patriots; and exposed himself and

his party to outrage and contempt. The English ambassador was reduced to the painful and humiliating task of soliciting from the States General succours which they could not grant, and the restoration of Paul Jones's prizes which were not in their power; till the discovery of Laurens's papers produced the declaration of war against Holland on the 20th of December, 1780, and on the 25th the departure of Sir Joseph Yorke from the Hague.

This event attracted universal notice, as being the completion of that series of defeats and disappointments which had long since attended the English and Stadtholderian party. It was likewise a public testimony to the triumph of M. de la Vauguyon, who had at once foiled, and had now driven from his station a veteran statesman, after a residence of nine-and-twenty years, during which he had in a great measure united the advantages of ambassador and cabinet minister in the republic.

public. Under such circumstances, it is perhaps not extraordinary, that his memory should have been treated in Holland with an unusual degree of severity ; as the Faction hated in him the representative of the English nation, and the Orange party were not sorry to attribute to his misconduct, what was in many instances the effect of their own imprudence. His mode of living was in the highest degree hospitable and magnificent, but his address and manners were not thought sufficiently conciliating, in a country where no individual can be offended, or even disregarded, with impunity, and where the life of an ambassador ought to be passed in a continued canvass and struggle for influence. The honour and integrity of his character were never called in question, even at a time when few characters were safe ; and the purity of his intentions has procured him from his liberal and indulgent master, the highest mark of approbation that it is in the power of a sovereign to bestow.

II.

The conduct of the English cabinet, in thus voluntarily adding the republic to their already numerous list of enemies, was at the time considered abroad as an act of despair. This vigorous measure, however, besides that it raised the spirits of the British nation, and disconcerted their enemies, was perhaps justified by the circumstances of the times. The insolent language used by the merchants of Amsterdam in their memorials *, proved beyond a doubt that the Faction were deter-

* In a memorial presented in 1778 by the merchants of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Dordrecht, the memorialists, after declaring " that the inhabitants of the United Provinces neither want inclination or courage to maintain their independence," represent it as "*insufferable* that a nation *which* owes the security and preservation of her liberty to the assistance of the republic, should DARE to cause so much trouble and prejudice to the commerce and navigation of the republic, &c. &c."

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mined to try to its utmost extent the
 forbearance of Great Britain ; and it was
 evident, that the court of Versailles, who
 were completely masters of the republic,
 would force it into a war, whenever its
 ostensible interference should suit their pur-
 poses better than its apparent neutrality.
 A rupture therefore was inevitable ; and
 it could not take place at a better moment
 than when Great Britain was armed, and
 the republic unprepared for defence : be-
 sides, it was of the utmost importance to
 begin the war before the Dutch should
 have acceded to the armed neutrality.
 Had that event taken place, the Northern
 courts might have thought it necessary to
 protect their new allies with the whole
 force of the confederacy ; the armed neu-
 trality would have become an armed me-
 diation ; and Great Britain would have
 been compelled to abjure her entire code
 of maritime law, or to carry on her trade
 in neutral vessels. In this case, the Dutch
 would have engrossed all the advantages
 proposed by the armed association ; they

would have carried away from the Northern powers the whole Baltic trade ; and would have become, for the second time, the sole carriers of Europe.

See 9.
The advantages thus offered to them were so evident and so excessive, that they created alarm and suspicion. Instead of attributing to the intrigues of Count Panin, or to the caprice of the Empress, the formation of a league so obviously destructive of the commercial interests of Russia, the Dutch politicians almost universally apprehended from it some secret design of betraying the republic. Perhaps even the Prince of Orange was the dupe of this refinement, but he was likewise an enemy to the neutral league, from much wiser motives. He knew that whatever unanimity might prevail in the opinions of the Dutch as to the expediency of the measure, its adoption must necessarily be attended with considerable delay, on account of the dilatory forms prescribed by the constitution ; and he was well assured that Great Britain

Britain would in the mean time seize some pretext for beginning a war, which in the then helpless state of the republic seemed the greatest of all possible evils. On the other hand, the court of Versailles ^{was} were sensible that the Dutch, who now relied solely on ^{it} them for support, would, by subscribing to the league, become in a great measure dependent on the Empress; and it was by no means ^{it} their interest to renew at St. Petersburg a contest for influence, which had already been decided in their favour at the Hague. From these concurrent causes, notwithstanding the clamours of the Amsterdam merchants, the accession of the republic to the neutral league was delayed till after the commencement of hostilities: it then acceded as a belligerent power; and was consequently precluded from those advantages which were enjoyed by the neutrals.

The Prince of Orange was now entrusted with the conduct of a war which he had long foreseen and deprecated, but to which,

20. XII.
1780

which, from a perverse and untoward coincidence of events, he was by many considered as accessory. Convinced that the system pursued and recommended by William the Third was founded in the truest political wisdom, that a union of the maritime powers was essential to the general balance of Europe, and that an intimate alliance with Great Britain was necessary to the welfare of the republic, he had openly expressed his predilection for the English at the beginning of the American quarrel. To this conduct the Patriots now very artfully reverted. They accused him of having advised the aggression of the English, and of contributing to their success by treachery. The evident inequality of the struggle, the notorious deficiency of all warlike articles in the dock-yards and arsenals of the republic, the frequent and public reclamations made by the Prince and by the Council of State on the subject of that deficiency were forgotten ; and the wilful misconduct of the Stadtholder was boldly alledged by the Patriots, as the sole
cause

Cause of that miserable series of defeat and disgrace which immediately followed the commencement of hostilities. These allegations were not only published by the Patriots, and by the wretched libellists in their pay, but were solemnly issued from the pulpit. The priests indeed were, in every part of the republic, the most formidable of the Stadtholder's opponents: from their mouths no falsehoods were found too gross for belief; and they thought none too absurd for assertion.

In order to pursue with safety a systematic plan for the subversion of the Stadtholderate, it was previously necessary to remove Duke Lewis of Brunswick from the councils of the Prince, and from the command of the army; and to this object the Patriots, from the beginning of the war, directed their principal attention. Although it was not till the year 1784 that they completely succeeded in this attempt, it may not be amiss to collect into one view all the intrigues employed for this

this purpose, in order to avoid a frequent recurrence to the same subject. In May 1781, the deputies of Amsterdam proposed in the States of Holland the appointment of a council, to be chosen from the different provinces, for the purpose of assisting the Prince in the execution of his office. This measure would have effectually destroyed the influence of Duke Lewis, but as it was at the same time a direct attack upon the privileges of the Stadtholder, it was rejected. In consequence of this failure, the same deputies presented to the Prince a memorial, stating the various accusations urged against the Duke by the libellists; representing these charges as the voice of the people; and praying him to remove from his councils a person so generally odious. This the Prince refused: the Duke complained to the States General of such an illiberal attack on his character; and the deputies recriminated on the indecency of his behaviour, in presuming to arraign the conduct of the sovereign council of Amsterdam. The appearances
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of disaffection in several of the provinces during this dispute were so alarming, that the Prince of Orange, from the dread of being crushed by the weight of odium heaped upon his counsellor, earnestly entreated him to retire to his government of Bois le Duc; and he accordingly quitted the Hague on the 24th of May, 1782. The Patriots however were not disposed to leave him in quiet possession of his retreat. They continually harassed him with vague but vexatious accusations of treasonable correspondence with the English, and of plots to betray some of the provinces into their hands. They instituted an inquiry into the state of the frontier, in hopes of fixing on him the imputation of neglecting the fortifications: and when all this failed, they recurred to a most singular charge, which they had formerly tried without success, but which at length fully answered their purpose.

In the year 1766, when the present Prince of Orange came of age, Duke Lewis
resigned

resigned into his hands the offices of captain and admiral general, which he had exercised as his guardian and representative, retaining only the post of field-marshal of the republic. This, which was merely a military command, did not admit him to a seat in the Council of State; but his advice being still deemed necessary to the young Prince, and it being supposed that the post of Counsellor of State was a degradation to a person who had represented the head of the republic, a particular act was drawn up, called the *act of consultation*, for the purpose of conveying to the Duke an ostensible charge, which should empower him to assist the Stadtholder with his advice whenever it should be required. This act was now arraigned as illegal. It was contended that a military officer ought not to interfere at all in civil concerns, and that although a right to advise was very distinct from a right to command, yet the habitual deference of the Prince to his former guardian rendered even this privilege injurious to the public interests. These,

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and similar arguments, which were brought forward, first in the States of Holland, and afterwards in other provincial assemblies, produced such violent resolutions, that the Duke, in order to avoid a disgraceful dismissal, took advantage of the pretext offered him by the rupture between the emperor and the republic, and on the 10th of October, 1784, retired from a country which he had governed during near three-and-thirty years. Of the various charges exhibited against him no one was ever substantiated, but he was generally unpopular; and his retreat was an important advantage gained by the Patriots, who dreaded much more opposition from his firmness, than from the mild and forbearing temper of the Stadtholder. The only real demerit of his conduct was his education of the Prince, whose attention he studiously diverted from the great duties of his office to the little detail of military arrangements, and the minutiae of German discipline.

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While these attacks were carrying on against the Duke of Brunswick, the conduct of the Prince of Orange was not less violently arraigned. If he endeavoured by procrastination to preserve the forces of the state, he was accused of inactivity; and if he employed them, his dispositions were censured, because he was always obliged to oppose an inferior force to a powerful enemy. But the accusation which hurt him the most in the minds of the nation, and which was pursued by the Patriots with the greatest ardour and perseverance, was occasioned by his conduct in the affair of Brest.

On the 21st of September, 1782, M. de la Vauguyon had presented to the States a requisition of ten ships to join the French fleet at Brest, and these ships, which were lying in the Texel, and supposed to be in readiness, were ordered to sail before the 8th of October. But the captains appointed for this service unanimously asserted the impossibility of complying with their orders,

ders, from the total want of sails, cordage, and provisions ; and in consequence of these allegations, the justice of which was certified by Admiral *Hartsink*, and admitted by the Stadtholder, the intended expedition did not take place. This refusal of the captains is supposed to have arisen from their dislike to serving in company with the French ; but the admission of such a refusal is an evidence of a strange want of discipline in the fleet ; and the excuses on which it is grounded, are proofs of the general degradation of the Dutch navy. The allegation of a scarcity of provisions is particularly curious, as the Dutch ships of war are not victualled by the republic, but by the captains ; who are permitted to retain for that purpose about four-pence halfpenny English from the daily pay of each sailor. How far they were able to exculpate themselves from this apparent neglect of their duty, and how far the Stadtholder was justified in admitting their apology, can only be determined by those

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who are minutely acquainted with the circumstances of the moment.

The charges, however, against the Prince's general conduct during the war, seem to have had much less foundation. The Dutch sailors, who are very ill fed on board of their own ships of war, usually prefer the merchant service of other nations, and it is said that at the beginning of 1781, there were near twenty thousand of them employed in English vessels. Of about twenty-five ships of the line, and about thirty frigates, which then composed the navy of the republic, nearly half were wretchedly out of repair. Those that were lying in the Maes, in the Y, and in the other rivers, could not get out without an easterly or south-easterly wind, nor even with it, except during the spring-tides; and their union was very difficult, because there is no port in the Seven Provinces capable of receiving a large fleet of men of war. The Dutch ships of the line likewise are much too small, and
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the general shallowness of their coast precludes them from the possibility of employing vessels of a sufficient size to cope with those of other nations. These circumstances are fully sufficient to account for their ill success, and the Prince of Orange seems to have done as much as it was possible to do; since it appears that the republic kept in pay, during the last war, a greater number of seamen than they had ever employed even in the times of their greatest prosperity. It was not in his power to restore the Dutch to their former greatness, because that was originally owing to their good fortune, and to the supineness of their neighbours. A rich soil, a coast favourable to the establishment of fisheries and commerce, and an excellent government under the wise princes of the house of Burgundy, had excited in the Netherlands an uncommon degree of industry, and had produced population, wealth, the arts, and civilization, which were checked everywhere else by the operation of the feudal system. The civil wars under Philip the Se-

cond, gave them that energy which was alone wanting to complete their character; ambition afterwards supplied the place of zeal, and raised them to a high degree of power, from which, after the effervescence of these temporary causes, they subsided into their natural state of mediocrity.

Such observations as these were, however, too offensive to the vanity of the nation, to be urged by either party. Both reflected with equal astonishment on the uninterrupted series of defeats which the republic received from an enemy with whom she had once contended singly, and successfully, although that power was now crippled by the operation of the armed neutrality, and opposed by the united strength of France, Spain, the Republic, America, and the most powerful princes of Asia. The Patriots attributed these defeats to the Stadtholder; the Orange party, to the anarchy introduced by the Patriots; but both were exasperated almost to madness against the common enemy, when an event happened

happened which promised a cessation of hostilities, and a renovation of the old alliance between the States General and Great Britain. This was the change in the English ministry which took place in the month of March, 1782.

As this change had been preceded by an order for suspending all offensive operations in America, and accompanied by a stipulation for the eventual grant of its independence, the cause of the war was now in a great measure removed, and it was evident that the new cabinet were sincerely desirous of peace, at the same time that their abilities were considered as fully adequate to the conduct of the war. Such an alteration of circumstances had an effect every where. The belligerent powers, though still confident in the strength of their confederacy, saw with pleasure the arrival of Mr. Grenville at Paris, with proposals for an accommodation. The King of Prussia, whose dislike had perhaps been directed rather against the British cabinet

than against the nation, seemed determined not to suffer any farther diminution of a power, which might be eventually serviceable to him in Germany. Denmark was equally friendly. But the effect of the change in administration was no where so strongly felt as at St. Petersburg.

The Empress had long professed a leaning towards England ; but the former cabinet, though they had offered a vast and perhaps excessive price for her friendship, had mistaken her character, and had rather courted her power than her person. Besides, though enthusiastic in every thing, she was particularly so in her admiration for Mr. Fox. She placed the firmest reliance on the known energy and decision of his character, and expected from his splendid abilities the restoration of Great Britain to its former greatness. She had been long desirous of intervening as a mediatrix in the general war, and particularly anxious to bring about a peace between Great Britain and Holland, and Mr. Fox began

began his administration by courting her to this favourite measure. He wrote a letter through M. de Simolin to Prince Gallitzen and M. Markoff, the Russian ministers at the Hague, requesting them to propose to the States General an immediate suspension of hostilities, and a negotiation for peace, on the conditions of the treaty of 1674, under the sole mediation of the court of Russia. This letter produced, as was expected, very little effect at the Hague; but its operation was decisive at St. Petersburg. The Empress now determined to recommend very seriously to the Republic their acceptance of so reasonable an offer; and it is probable that her powerful intervention would have given a very different turn to the affairs of Europe, had not a new revolution taken place in the English cabinet by the death of Lord Rockingham, the resignation of Mr. Fox, and the appointment of Lord Shelburne as first minister.

This of course occasioned a suspension of those dispositions in favour of England which had now universally begun to prevail. Mr. Grenville suddenly left Paris, and although Mr. Fitz-Herbert was immediately sent by the new ministry to replace him, neither the belligerent powers nor the neutrals were satisfied either as to the permanency or sincerity of the new cabinet ; and the first consequence of this doubt was the loss of the project with respect to Holland. At Paris, however, Mr. Fitz-Herbert succeeded in establishing a negotiation, and even carried it very far towards a favourable termination, by taking advantage of the anxiety for peace which was betrayed by the French minister. In fact, the position of M. de Vergennes was become very critical. He had powerful enemies at Versailles, against whom he could only hope to prevail by the speedy restoration of peace. The war had long ceased to be popular in France, and the events of the last campaign had not made it more so : the people

had

France

people were oppressed by a weight of taxes; the nobility, who are almost universally engaged in the land service, were clamorous against these expensive naval operations, from which they could expect neither advantage nor distinctions: the numerous and powerful proprietors of West Indian estates were impatient to receive their produce, which, from the want of vessels to bring it home, was perishing in the islands: and the merchants were greatly distressed by their losses during the war, and disgusted with their American speculations. On the other hand, the Turks were threatened with an attack, and France was bound by her alliance to assist them; besides which it was essential to her interests to check the growing power of Russia, and still more so to protect her own Levant trade, the most lucrative branch of her whole commerce. Such a war was to be prevented at any price. While the French minister was in this embarrassment, Lord Shelburne suddenly determined to be his own negotiator, and M. de Vergennes, who was perfectly

fectly disposed to indulge this disposition, immediately dispatched to England M. de Rayneval, first clerk in his office. The effect of this mission was extraordinary. The representatives of the two rival nations were surpris'd at their first interview by a mutual and violent friendship. The several points in litigation were discuss'd and concluded with infinite cordiality ; orders for signing the treaty were transmitted to Paris ; and the universe was indebted for the restoration of its tranquillity to the accidental tenderness of Lord Shelburne and M. de Rayneval.

As the English minister had by this treaty granted to the French and the Americans nearly all that they asked, and to the Spaniards perhaps more than they asked, it became necessary that the Dutch should make a compensation to Great Britain for the profusion of her negotiator. For this purpose, the retention of Negapatnam, and the right of a free navigation in the eastern seas, were insisted on ; and it was evident that

that the republic, being unable to carry on a separate war, would be forced to comply with these hard terms. The treaty, however, was received in England with universal disgust; even the eloquence of Mr. Pitt was fruitlessly employed in its defence; and the author of the peace, who had hoped to shelter himself behind the popularity of that extraordinary young man, was dismissed from his office.

The return of Mr. Fox into power, again raised the hopes of the few friends whom England still preserved in the republic. They immediately represented to the cabinet that this was the moment for Great Britain to regain the ground which she had lost, as France, by her notorious dereliction of the Dutch interests in the late treaty, had nearly extinguished that enthusiasm in her favour, which lately prevailed throughout the nation. They insisted that the retention of Negapatnam was of very little advantage to Great Britain; and the right of navigating the eastern seas
either

either wholly nugatory, or important only as a certain source of jealousy between the two nations; and that by consenting to abandon these points as the price of a new alliance with the Republic, Great Britain would silence all the arguments of her enemies, and secure to herself the eternal gratitude of the Dutch nation. That a negotiation on this basis could not easily fail of success, if conducted by an ambassador, whose manner should be sufficiently conciliating to soften the first violence of that rancour which the English name so universally excited in Holland, and who should possess sufficient penetration and address to detect and refute the misrepresentations used by the Patriots, and to set in its true light the generous and disinterested conduct of his Britannic Majesty. Lastly, that the vast importance of the Dutch ports in India, in case of a new war, was more than sufficient to justify an experiment by which nothing was risked for the present, as the proposed cessions would of course be only eventual. These representations decided the

the English cabinet, and Sir James Harris was pitched upon for the conduct of the intended negotiation. But in the meantime the King again dismissed his confidential servants ; during the struggle which followed this event all foreign considerations were forgotten, and the whole attention of the nation was absorbed in their indignation against Lord North and Mr. Fox, who had abjured their mutual animosity, without waiting for the consent of the public.

The Coalition Ministry was dismissed on the 17th of December, 1783, and the affairs of Holland seem to have been entirely overlooked by the English till the end of 1784 ; whereas France was enabled during this interval not only to do away the unfavourable impressions occasioned by her conduct in the late peace, but even to extend her influence far beyond its former bounds, by taking advantage of the disputes between the Emperor and the republic.

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The frontiers of Flanders had been settled in 1664, by a formal convention between the King of Spain and the States General. After the succession war, the Spanish Low Countries were allotted to the house of Austria: but the maritime powers, by the barrier treaty of November, 1715, annexed to this cession a variety of conditions, which were at that time thought necessary to preserve the political system of Europe, and justified by the expences that these powers, and particularly the Dutch, had incurred during the war. The various altercations between the government of the Low Countries and the States General resulting from this treaty, produced in 1718 a new convention, by which the frontiers of the republic were extended far beyond the limits assigned to them in 1664, and although this convention was not formally ratified by the court of Vienna, the Dutch proceeded to occupy a great part of the country thus ceded to them. After the peace of Aix la Chapelle, the barrier towns, taken by the French, were
again

again restored to the republic; but the court of Vienna refused to contribute to the expence of re-building the fortifications, which had been universally demolished, to pay their subsidy for the 12,000 Dutch troops employed in the garrisons, or even to disburse the arrears which were due to the republic before the French invasion. The present Emperor went still farther. Taking advantage of the war between the Dutch and Great Britain, which was the guarantee to the barrier treaty, he, in 1781, suddenly declared that treaty obsolete, took upon himself the protection of the frontier, and dismissed the Dutch garrisons.

The little opposition, made by the States General to this extraordinary measure, and the many symptoms of weakness and anarchy to which the Emperor had been witness during his journey in Holland, encouraged him to new projects; and he directed the government of the Low Countries to take the first opportunity of resuming all the territory

territory which had been occupied by the Dutch since the convention of 1664. The manner in which this order was executed was rather whimsical. In the beginning of November, 1783, a soldier had died in the fort of *Liefkenshoek*, and the garrison prepared, according to custom, to bury him in the neighbouring village of *Doele*, situate within the frontier claimed by the Emperor. The procession was met by the bailiff of Beveren, in Austrian Flanders, who entered a protest against this violation of his Imperial master's territory; and, a few days afterwards, a detachment from the garrison of Ghent came to *Doele*, took up the body, and threw it into the ditch of the Dutch fort; while another detachment from the garrison of Bruges were employed in taking possession of the forts of *St. Donat*, *St. Pierre*, and *Job*. Such violent measures occasioned universal consternation in the republic, as no one could foresee what degree of resentment might be excited in the Imperial mind by this strange aggression of a dead soldier. Some
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hasty measures were taken for the temporary protection of Dutch Brabant ; at the same time means of conciliation were attempted, and in the month of April two additional plenipotentiaries were sent to Bruffels. The court of Vienna, however, continued to rise in its demands. Maeftricht, which had been promised to Spain as a return for its friendly interference during the French invasion in 1672, was claimed by the Emperor, as representative of the Spanish Monarch. The free navigation of the Scheld was insisted on ; an invasion of the republic was announced in case of resistance ; and it was known that the Empress of Russia was determined to arm in support of the Emperor's pretensions. In this desperate situation of the republic, the court of Versailles declared their intention of embracing its cause, and even appeared resolved to risk a war in its favour. Such a measure, at such a time, naturally produced a high degree of respect for French magnanimity, and a proportionate hatred against their rivals, the English.

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Whilst

Whilst the temper of the Dutch was thus hostile to Great Britain, there was no power on the Continent on whose friendly disposition she could rely. The Emperor, though not much pleased with the conduct of the court of Versailles, trusted to the slow, but sure effect of the Queen's influence in his favour, and was by no means disposed to purchase, by a rupture with France, the alliance of Great Britain, who seemed to have neither any fixed principles of government at home, nor a consistent plan of foreign politics. Russia was intimately allied with the Emperor, and indifferent to the rest of Europe. The Empress had long reposed her principal confidence in Prince Potemkin; and this singular, but able man, had directed the ambition of his mistress towards the South, where alone the farther aggrandizement of her empire appeared practicable. In foreign connections nothing was looked to beyond their probable subserviency to this view. The Emperor had very ably contrived to overturn the interests of his rival at St. Peterburgh,

burgh, and had concluded an alliance with the Empress, who now resolved to assist him with all that weight which Russia held in the scale of Europe, in order to secure his effectual co-operation against the Turks. That singular enthusiasm which Mr. Fox had contrived to inspire, had for a time suspended this system; but it was resumed on his dismissal, and from that moment, the ministers of France, Spain, and England have equally played a subaltern part at St. Petersburg. Denmark and Sweden were not likely to act in opposition to Russia; and a connection with the Porte was not yet thought of. The King of Prussia was decidedly adverse to any alliance with Great Britain, unless joined by the Empress: the great object of his policy was to set aside, or at least to weaken, the alliance between France and Austria, which had been concluded in 1756; and on this principle he directed the operations of his party in the Republic, which was now considerable. It had originated in the influence of the Princess of Orange, and had

been much augmented by the failure of an absurd attempt made by the Orange party on the 6th of December, 1782, to produce an insurrection in favour of the Stadtholder, in consequence of which he had been reduced to apply to the King of Prussia for protection. The King had even at that time recommended an acquiescence in the projects of the French, and he was now still more disposed to such advice from the prospect of a rupture between them and the Emperor.

Such was the state of Europe, when the English cabinet, finding themselves firmly established in the government, began to direct their attention towards the affairs of Holland. They adopted, in part at least, the plan laid down by their predecessors, confirmed the former choice of an ambassador, and dispatched to the Hague Sir James Harris; who arrived towards the end of December, 1784.

III.

This measure, though it did not produce any immediate effect on the state of parties in Holland, was at least a public indication that the British cabinet were now determined to renew the struggle for continental influence; and it was evident that the event of this struggle, would in a great measure decide the relative importance of France and Great Britain. From this period therefore, the history of the Republic becomes much more interesting, and will require a more particular detail; so that it may not be amiss in this place, to take a view of the principal characters who will appear on the scene.

The Prince of Orange possesses great facility of comprehension, a singular quickness in discerning characters, and a memory most uncommonly retentive. Few of his predecessors have been so deeply versed in the history and constitu-

tion of the republic, and certainly none have been more cautious of exceeding the bounds prescribed by that constitution to the power of the Stadtholder. His manners are affable, and his disposition modest and unassuming. Perhaps this last quality is a principal cause of those distresses to which he has been exposed, as Duke Lewis, who wished to obtain an exclusive influence over his pupil, appears to have studiously encouraged in him a diffidence in his own judgment, and a distrust of all those who surrounded him. Hence, though always firm in his adherence to the general line of conduct which he thought essential to the interests of his country, he was frequently wavering and undetermined in the choice of the means, so that his character was for some time considered as a mixture of personal courage and political irresolution. But, on his being deprived of Duke Lewis, and abandoned to his own efforts, the energy of his mind was found to increase in proportion to the pressure of his misfortunes; and his conduct during those calamitous times

times which immediately preceded the revolution, would not have disgraced the ablest of his predecessors.

The Princess of Orange unites all the accomplishments of her sex, and the most amiable domestic virtues, with that daring spirit which characterises the House of Brandenburg. During the long and illiberal persecution which was raised against her husband, although she was constantly observed with the same patient and watchful malignity, her enemies were never able to fix a stain on the undeviating rectitude of her conduct; her firmness and resignation rendered her at all times an object of respect and pity, and greatly contributed to prepare the minds of the people for that revolution, of which her fortunate intrepidity became the immediate and ostensible cause.

Such a change of circumstances, however, was at this time too improbable to raise the hopes of the most sanguine well-wishers

to the Orange cause. These indeed no longer formed a party. Though composed of the first families in the republic, they were without power, without a chief, without a plan of concert, without hopes of foreign assistance, and despondent from a long series of disappointments. Their adversaries possessed all the advantages of internal authority and foreign influence, they were united in a party, and conducted by three able leaders, Van Berkel, Gyzlaar, and Zeebergen, pensionaries of Amsterdam, Dort, and Haarlem.

These three persons had been bred to the law, a profession which, in the republic, is the usual preparation for the discharge of the principal public offices. Van Berkel had begun his career without much success at the Hague, and from thence had removed to Amsterdam, where his great connections arising from a fortunate marriage, his known hatred to the Stadtholder, his detestation of the English, and some reputation for ability, had gradually raised him
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to the post of pensionary. In this situation, by the firmness of his character, and acuteness of his mind, he soon acquired a decided ascendancy over the great pensionary Bleyfwick, and thus became the ostensible chief of the Anti-stadtholderian party.

Gyzlaar had become pensionary of Dort, in 1779, through the influence of Van Berkel. His warm attachment to the French interest, his impetuosity of temper, his fine talents, his undaunted courage, and powerful eloquence, rendered him perhaps the most formidable of the Stadtholder's opponents.

Zeebergen, pensionary of Haarlem, first rose into importance in the year 1779, by procuring from France for that town the same commercial advantages which she had granted to Amsterdam ; and by thus pointing out to the other towns of the province, the line of conduct which the court of Versailles wished them to follow. He was able, patient, and intriguing, and conceal-
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ed under an appearance of great moderation, a zeal for the cause not inferior to that of his associates. Besides these, a fourth personage began about this time to attract the attention of the public, and gradually increased in importance until he became the principal hero of the patriotic faction. This was the Rhingrave of Salm. Though lately an insignificant officer in the Dutch army, he was now intrusted with a most important negotiation at Berlin, to which he was recommended by the Patriots, as a reward for his subserviency to the views of France, but which was confirmed to him by the Prince of Orange, whom he had betrayed. This singular adventurer certainly possessed considerable talents, and perhaps some genius, since he was on the point of realizing the vast expectations suggested by his inordinate ambition, and for a length of time succeeded in duping some of the ablest politicians in Europe, and in rendering them subservient to his own purposes. His knowledge, though superficial, was unquestionably various

rious and extensive ; he could talk with fluency and elegance the language of almost every country, assume the tone of every passion, and accommodate himself to every temper and understanding ; though he was most peculiarly successful in captivating the minds of the populace. By these talents, by a complete indifference to every religious and moral principle, and by the most shameless effrontery, he long dazzled his own party, and astonished and intimidated his enemies ; till his conduct at Utrecht rendered him the object of universal contempt, and proved that with the vices, and perhaps the talents, of a Catiline, he wanted his courage.

The alterations in the Dutch constitution projected by the Patriots, were as follows : “ That the *forms* of the present government should continue to subsist, but that the States should become in every respect completely independent of the Stadtholder ; and that for this purpose he should no longer enjoy a seat in any of the colleges
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in the republic. That the *Reglémens* should be abolished. That the Stadtholder's right of recommending candidates for the vacant magistracies in the towns of Holland should cease. That the charges of Stadtholder and Captain General should if possible be separated, and conferred on different persons ; or that, at least, the titles only should be reserved to the Prince of Orange, and the offices be executed, as in the time of the De Witts, by deputies chosen for the purpose. In general, that the Stadtholder should possess such powers only as might enable him to execute the orders of the States. That the hereditary Stadtholderate should continue in the Prince of Orange on his acceptance of these terms ; but that in case of his refusal, the different states should be at liberty to elect another Stadtholder."

It was evident that a plan so obviously subversive of every principle on which the union of Utrecht had been established, was not likely to meet the concurrence of all
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the members of the union. It was determined therefore, in pursuance of the plan laid down by Barnevelt and the De Witts, to diminish as much as possible the power of the States General ; to assert on all occasions the independence of the States of Holland ; and to disregard the opposition of such members of the union as they should be unable to draw over to their interests.

Still, however, it was necessary to the complete success of their project, that they should have at their own disposal a body of troops, on whose fidelity they could depend ; and even this was furnished to them by the singular circumstances of the times.

Although the United States have long been under a necessity of maintaining an army for the general protection of the republic, the several towns have at all times intrusted the defence of their walls to an armed body of their own burghers : and this national militia enjoyed no inconsiderable

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able degree of reputation, before the introduction of that severe discipline which has lately prevailed among the mercenary armies of Europe. When the late Stadtholder projected the reform in the army of the republic, good policy perhaps required that he should at the same time propose a similar improvement of the national militia; as the burghers are in general well disposed to the house of Orange, and would thus have formed a powerful and constitutional defence of the Stadtholderate against the incroachments of the magistrates. This, however, was then neglected, and the idea was either never suggested, or at least never adopted by the present Prince of Orange. The consequence was, that during the late war, when the whole nation was inspired with a general military enthusiasm, and when an universal jealousy prevailed against Duke Lewis and the army which he commanded, various bodies of people voluntarily assembled for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of military discipline; and, as these bodies were of
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course composed of persons inimical to the Prince of Orange, they were every where protected and encouraged by the Patriots. They were directed in the first instance to appear as protectors of the burghers ; to insist on the dismissal of such members in the different regencies as were known to be well affected to the Stadtholder ; and to procure the establishment of a *committee of burghers*, for the purpose of electing new members to supply their place. These military associations, under the name of *Free Corps*, began in the province of Utrecht, from whence they gradually spread through the other provinces, and at this time began to assume a very menacing appearance.

Besides these internal resources, the Patriots were assured of all the assistance that French influence, French intrigue, and French money could give them. During the late war, although the friends of the Stadtholder had been unable to resist the French interest on other points, they had
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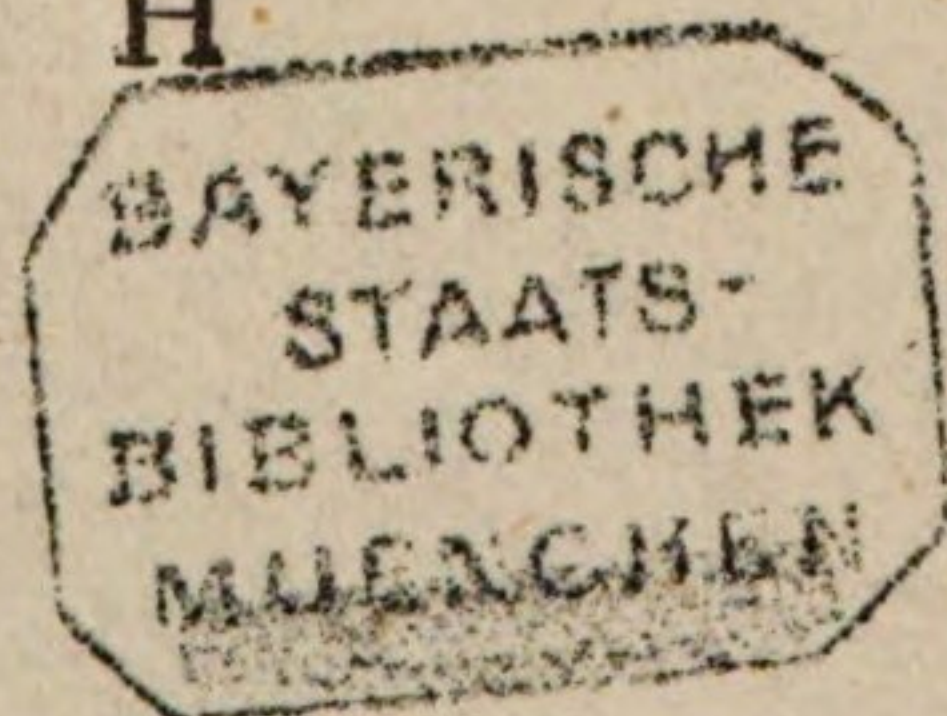
been sufficiently strong to prevent those vast exertions, and that profuse expenditure of men and money, which the court of Versailles had expected from the republic. It was, therefore, essential to the interests of France that the whole power of the state should be vested in the Patriots, from whom she was sure of obtaining the most perfect co-operation in the event of a new war, for which she had already begun to prepare, and of which India was intended to be the theatre. Of the fifteen hundred men who composed the garrison at the Cape, one-third consisted of the regiment of *Meuron*; and that of *Luxemburg*, consisting of about a thousand men, was in garrison at Columbo and Trincomalé. Both these bodies were taken into the service of the Dutch East India Company, but it was stipulated that they should be recruited from France, and that each should in future be strengthened by two hundred men, in addition to their usual complement. On this foundation it was intended to raise a formidable military force in the
Dutch

Dutch East Indies, as soon as the projects of France should be matured ; but in the mean time it was necessary to take every means of extending and securing their popularity in the republic. With this view they had permitted the Dutch to raise within the kingdom a body of four thousand light troops, and had formally notified to the Emperor that they could not see with indifference any hostilities exercised against the States,

At the same time the king of Prussia, from motives already mentioned, was perfectly disposed to coincide with the views of France. The reports from Prince Henry, who was then at Paris, gave him reason to believe that the Queen's influence began to decline, and that the court of Versailles might now be induced to put an end to the alliance of 1756, and to unite with Prussia. It was natural that the interests of the Stadtholder, and even the existence of the Stadtholderate should appear of little importance, when put in competition with this great object. The king only required

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that



that the honour of the house of Brandenburg should be preserved, and that if the dismissal of the Prince of Orange were resolved on, the Princess should have an offer of the post of Gouvernante, assisted by a council chosen from the Patriotic Faction.

From so powerful a combination, the complete ruin of the Stadtholder was universally considered as inevitable; and all resistance appeared so fruitless, that the Prince of Orange had lately submitted to the humiliating necessity of proposing to the States the nomination of a French officer (M. de Maillebois) to the command of the Dutch army.

Such was the unpromising, and apparently desperate posture of affairs, when Sir James Harris began his mission at the Hague. It was necessary that he should separate the *man* from the *minister*, and that by his address and conciliating manners, he should rescue himself from that general proscription in which all who bore

bore the name of Englishmen had been long involved. That with an appearance of perfect inactivity, he should collect and unite a scattered and despondent party, and inspire them with unanimity and courage; that he should discover or create channels of sure and secret intelligence; and that under all those impressions of jealousy which his mission necessarily inspired, he should disappoint the vigilance, and detect and defeat the intrigues of a wary and powerful faction, whose emissaries pervaded every society in the republic. In all these points, this “subtle and audacious minister,” (as the French writers emphatically style him) became at last completely successful.

Nothing could be more gloomy than the prospect which presented itself on all sides at the commencement of the year 1785. At home, all was despondence and dissatisfaction. The nomination of M. de Maillebois, by which the chief of the republic was virtually declared incapable of undertaking its defence at this critical juncture;

the impoverished * state of the great commercial companies from losses during the war, and from disappointment in the expected returns from North America ; the intention of adding a new tythe † on all articles

* The losses sustained by the East India Company, since the year 1780, in consequence of the rupture with England, amounted at this time to about seventy millions of florins, equal to about six millions one hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling, reckoning the florin at one shilling and nine-pence.

† It may be a matter of curiosity, and perhaps of consolation to the English reader, to contemplate the heavy load of taxes under which the province of Holland not only subsists, but even flourishes. The detail is as follows.

Land-tax 2 f. 17 ft. per acre ; dykes 2 f. 3 ft. ; total 5 florins, or about 8 s. 9 d. sterling. Rent about 20 s. per acre.

Taxes on houses vary, one house sometimes pays as far as 40 pounds sterling.

Collateral Tax, or tax on inheritants out of the direct line : this varies from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 per cent. It is levied in the province where the *property*, not the *person*, of the deceased was lodged. This tax is supposed to bring, in the course of a few generations, all private property into the coffers of the public.

All sales of moveables, comprehending grain, cattle, and all produce of land, pay the 80th penny ; horses the 12th ; immoveables pay the 40th penny.

Famille

articles of consumption ; and the excesses of the Patriots, reduced the people almost to despair. Their situation with respect to foreign powers was not calculated to dissipate their despondence. A trifling mer-

Famille Geldt is a tax of 2 per cent. on every man's income stated on oath. All eatables are taxed high. Small beer at about 50 per cent. Coffee, tea, and salt, according to the number of servants. Salt whether consumed or not. Wine pays an excise of about 3*l.* per hogshead.

Ampt Geldt, or office money, is a tax of 2 per cent. on the revenue of all offices, excepting those in the army :—the navy pay it.

Ampt Obligaties, or recognitions. Every man appointed to an office, must buy stocks to a certain amount, and tear the bonds. This renders offices a kind of annuity, yielding to the purchaser about 12 or 14 per cent. All manufactures used in the country pay heavy charges ; but the duties and customs, which are levied by the several admiralties, are low.

The East India Company pays as a compensation for its charter about 36,000*l.* sterling annually ; but in addition, each share of 6000 florins pays 480 florins annually, whether there is a dividend or not. The revenues of this province, if we include what is paid to the several towns and corporations, may be estimated at about 24 millions of florins, levied on a population of about 800,000 souls ; so that on an average, each person pays about 30 florins, or two guineas and a half English.

cantile dispute with the Venetians, which had been carried on by both sides with equal violence, seemed likely to terminate in a war between these rival republics. The Austrian troops were on their march, and were almost hourly expected to begin their attack upon the frontier. The Empress of Russia had notified to the States her intention of supporting the claims of the Emperor, and it was feared that a Russian fleet would be speedily sent to co-operate with his army. The frontier of the republic on the side of Flanders consisted of forty-two towns, and though many of these might be rendered inaccessible by means of inundations, the remainder could not be long defended. The States indeed had lately acted with unusual vigour. Large supplies of cattle, provisions, and military stores, had been sent to Maestricht: a considerable augmentation of the army had been ordered: M. de Maillebois had undertaken to raise 3,000 men, the Rhingrave 2,000, the young Prince of Hesse Darmstadt 2,000, and Colonel Matta 900; but

But it was feared that after all these augmentations the army of the republic would still be very inadequate to its protection, against the formidable power which now threatened it with an invasion.

A proposal for an accommodation, which arrived from the Emperor on the 7th of January, was rather calculated to embarrass the States, than to inspire them with hopes of a speedy end to their difficulties. It was required that they should make a full reparation for the insult offered to the Imperial flag; that they should indemnify all those who had suffered from the inundations at Lillo and the *Sas de Gand*; and that they should surrender to the Emperor the town and fortrefs of Maestricht with its dependencies. This proposal was strongly recommended to them by M. de Vergennes, and they were assured by their ambassadors that his existence as a minister depended on their compliance. Their answer was, as might be expected, extremely civil; but by

no means explicit on the subject of Maeftricht.

From this state of doubt and apprehension they were in a great measure relieved by the unexpected intelligence, that the ambition of the Emperor had now taken a new turn ; and that, by a treaty concluded on the third of January with the Elector Palatine, he had agreed to a transfer of the Austrian Netherlands, in exchange for the succession of Bavaria. By this treaty the Elector was empowered to assume the title of King, and at the same time succeeded to all the claims on the Dutch, in which the Emperor pledged himself to support him, as well as to make good the difference of value between Bavaria and the Low Countries. This singular arrangement had been negotiated with so much secrecy, that the *Duc des Deux Ponts*, though heir to the Elector Palatine, was perfectly ignorant of this transfer of his succession, till he received a notification from Count Romanzow, Russian minister to

to the Circles, that the articles were actually signed, and that their Imperial Majesties had little doubt of his readiness to accede to them. This, however, the Duke positively refused, and instantly dispatched messengers with the news to the courts of Versailles and Berlin. The answer of M. de Vergennes was vague and mysterious ; but the King of Prussia received the intelligence with surprize and indignation. He had hoped that the Emperor's influence at Peterburgh was greatly diminished, and he now learnt that it had been sufficiently strong to lead the Empress to violate her own guarantee of the peace of Teschen.

Such a piece of intelligence was of course received in Holland with the greatest exultation. The Patriots now felt fully confident that the Emperor's projects against the republic were at an end ; but that monarch, however intimidated by the formidable league which had been formed in Germany under the auspices of his rival the King of Prussia, continued firm in his demands on Holland. In a proposal,

propofal, which he called his ultimatum, and which arrived on the 9th of March, he demanded “ The ceflion of the whole country beyond the Meufe; both banks of the Scheld, from Antwerp to Saftingen; the destruction of the Dutch forts; an indemnification for the mifchiefs done to his fubjects by the inundations; the furrender of the Dykes; and twelve millions of German florins as a compensation for Maeftricht. On thefe terms he confented to receive two deputies at Vienna, charged with a proper apology; to ftop all military proceedings till the firft of May, and to continue the negotiations for the peace at Paris.” A note arrived about the fame time from the court of Ruffia, earneftly advifing the States to pay the moft ferious attention to thefe propofals, and to accommodate matters as foon as poffible; and the fame advice was conveyed, though in different language, from M. de Vergennes, who was thoroughly tired of a quarrel which was fo prejudicial to his own interefts at Verfailles, and which threatened

threatened the destruction of all his projects in the East Indies.

The republic was now in a most embarrassing situation. A war, without the most effectual assistance from France, could only be the refuge of desperation. On the other hand, the cession of the country of *Outremeuse* was quite inadmissible; and on this the States of Holland in their answer, firmly, though respectfully, insisted. But in order to soften this refusal, they agreed to pay a ransom for Maestricht, and consented to open the Scheld as far as *Saftingen*, on condition that the remainder of the river should not be considered as free. On the other points, they hoped to find some satisfactory medium in the course of the negotiation. The Emperor, however, continued to press for a decisive answer; he positively refused to accept of less than ten millions of florins, as an indemnification for Maestricht, or to prolong the armistice beyond the 15th of September: and from his preparations in Flanders,

Flanders, he appeared so fixed in this resolution, that the Dutch, after determining to leave the whole matter to the arbitration of France, began on their side to prepare very seriously for defence. The protection of Dutch Brabant was intrusted to M. de Maillebois; that of Dutch Flanders to General Dumoulin; that of Nimeguen to General Vander Hop; and General Sandoz was appointed to command the corps de reserve. But in the mean time the preliminaries had been signed at Paris on the 20th, and arrived at the Hague on the 24th of September. It was agreed between M. de Vergennes and the Dutch ambassadors, that the States should contribute six, and the court of France four millions of florins, in order to complete the sum exacted by the Emperor. The other articles were so loosely worded, and left so much room for future altercations, with respect to the Scheld and the East Indies, that when the ratification was proposed in the States General, the provinces of Guelderland, Zealand, and Friezeland, protested

protested against it. The Patriots, however, on this occasion, disregarded the forms of the constitution, and the measure was passed by the majority. The definitive treaty was in consequence signed at Fontainebleau on the 8th of November, as was on the following day the treaty of alliance with France. Thus ended this long and vexatious altercation with the Emperor, on terms which did little honour to his character, but which proved the miserable degradation of this once flourishing republic.

It is a little extraordinary, that while this important dispute was still depending, two new and singular attacks were made on the character, and attempted against the person of Duke Lewis of Brunswick. Whether they arose from private animosity, or from a desire of diverting the attention and indignation of the people from the tyranny of the government to some other object, is unknown ; but the transactions

actions may at least serve to exhibit in its true light, the character of the Patriots.

The Rhingrave of Salm, who returned from his mission at Berlin towards the end of February, publicly accused Duke Lewis of carrying on a treasonable correspondence in the town of Maestricht, with a view of betraying it to the Emperor; he asserted that he had received this information from the King of Prussia, and was empowered to quote that monarch as the author of the accusation. Being questioned on this subject by the Prince of Orange, on the 4th of March, he repeated the same assurances, and even persisted in them on the 7th, when examined by the *Besogne Secrete*, or secret committee of the States General. This information was immediately conveyed to the governor of Maestricht; the vice-bailiff of the town was apprehended on suspicion, and confined for five weeks, and his papers seized and examined. But as no traces of the pretended treason could

could be discovered, as the assertion of the King of Prussia was denied, and as the indignation of the Emperor began to be apprehended, if so infamous a charge should be prosecuted against a field-marshal in his service, all farther process was stopped, and the whole affair was studiously involved by the Patriots in the most impenetrable obscurity. Still however they wished to prove that the Duke, from his retreat at Aix la Chapelle, continued to correspond with the Prince of Orange, and to direct his measures; and as they were unprovided with any evidence on which they could ground this accusation, they boldly determined to get possession by force of Duke Lewis's papers. They found, in that crowd of adventurers which the appearances of war had drawn into the United Provinces, a number of conspirators, daring enough to attempt, and apparently strong enough to execute this singular robbery, the direction of which was intrusted to a colonel in the Rhingrave's legion. But the plot was fortunately discovered

covered by the voluntary confession of one of the conspirators, and its perpetration was prevented by the seizure of his accomplices, most of whom were apprehended on the 27th of July, at Aix la Chapelle.

This project seems to have been almost gratuitously atrocious, since no very material benefits could have accrued to the faction, by proving that the Prince continued to correspond with a person to whom the republic had formerly thought fit to intrust the care of his education. Another measure of the Patriots might perhaps be thought too insignificant to deserve attention, but that it likewise tends to shew the spirit of that government which the faction were labouring to establish. This was the prohibition of orange ribbands.

On the 19th of January, the Prince had presented to the States General a letter, containing a full justification of his whole conduct since the year 1766, and a well-digested

digested plan of a national militia. Neither of these papers produced much effect on the members of government ; but they excited a general spirit of dissatisfaction amongst the people. A number of peasants assembled with orange cockades in their hats, exclaimed against the levies for the augmentation of the free-corps, and declared their resolution of not being embodied, as they paid an army for their defence. These appearances of a disposition to revolt, produced an order from the magistrates to prohibit the wearing of orange ribands on the 8th of March, the Prince's birth-day, and this order was torn to pieces by the populace at the Hague. It was however afterwards enforced with very extraordinary rigour. All fruits and flowers of this inauspicious colour were solemnly proscribed ; and even carrots were not suffered to be offered to sale with their roots outwards. Never perhaps was the supreme power of government so singularly directed, and never did its mandates produce such universal dissatisfaction. The

same people who had coolly submitted to a series of the most unconstitutional attacks on their liberty, were exasperated almost to madness by these peevish and puerile exertions of tyranny. But whatever might be the errors of the Patriots in their legislative capacity, they shewed considerable address in the prosecution of their attack on the privileges of the Stadtholder. Their first attempt indeed was unsuccessful, because its object was not sufficiently concealed. This was a project for the establishment of a new military board, and it was brought forward in the month of June by M. de Maillebois, then in the zenith of his popularity. As the members of this board would have been nominated by the Patriots, they would thus have acquired a considerable share in the direction of the army. The proposal was considered in a committee of the States General, and rejected, because it was likely to produce a considerable additional expence ; because it interfered with the powers of the Council of State, which was already competent to the direction of
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all military affairs ; and because it infringed on the privileges of the Stadtholder.

Being baffled in this project, the Patriots turned their attention towards the free-corps, from whom they received, in the course of this summer, very signal services. During the month of August, the democratical spirit became almost universal. At Leyden, at Haarlem, at Dort, at Schoonhoven, and at Gouda, the burghers were prevailed on to take up arms, and to dispute the prerogatives of their regencies. The same spirit appeared in Overijssel and in Guelderland, and was at its height in Utrecht. The States of Holland therefore determined to take advantage of this favourable disposition, and on the 8th of September came to a resolution, that, “ for the prevention of riots, guards should be appointed to patrol the streets of the Hague, and that the necessary orders for this purpose should be issued by the *Gecommitteer-de-Raaden*.” The Prince of Orange, who attended the meeting, fruitlessly entered

tered his protest against this violent measure, by which he was deprived of the command of the garrison.

His orders were now every where disregarded. Although the general apprehension of an attack from the Emperor was at its height, the province of Zealand forbade the march of their troops, whom he had ordered to the island of Cotsand; Overijssel refused to suffer their division to leave the province; and the same disobedience was shewn soon after by the provinces of Utrecht and Groningen.

On the 14th of September, the Prince set off for Breda, and the Princess for Friesland, where she was received with universal acclamations. It should seem, that before her departure, the Patriots had spared no pains to detach her, if possible, from the interests of the Prince her husband, and to induce her to accept the Stadtholderian authority under the title of Gouvernante. In fact, they could not hope to establish
their

their own power on a permanent footing without the acquiescence of the King of Prussia ; and it was impossible that he should consent to the dismissal of the Stadtholder, as long as the Princess was determined to share in his disgrace. Besides, it was of importance to detain, if possible, the Stadtholderian family at the Hague. Their departure at this time had the appearance of an exile, and could not fail to excite the general commiseration of the people. The presence of the Prince, might animate the efforts of his friends in the provinces ; he might there unite his scattered party ; he would be removed from the mockery and insult to which he had been subject at the Hague ; and would no longer be so easily affected by the menaces or promises of the Faction.

It soon appeared that these apprehensions were not without foundation. The provinces began to perceive that there no longer remained the smallest appearance of danger from the power of the Stadtholder,

but that much was to be apprehended from the tyranny of the province of Holland. This alarm began to appear at the beginning of November in the province of Friesland, where near seven-eighths of the regents presented a memorial to the Prince, expressing their indignation at the designs of the Patriots, and proposing to him a negotiation for a union of interests. The States of Holland, on their part, seemed disposed to throw off the mask. They instituted, in the course of this month, a committee to re-examine and report the payments made by the different provinces to the treasury of the republic; and it was obvious, that on this report they meant to ground a demand of a share of power proportionate to their share of the general contribution. Such a measure naturally occasioned great dissatisfaction in the provinces; and it was followed by the disgraceful treaty with the Emperor, and by the French alliance, which had been so precipitately concluded, that it was generally considered as a mere compact between
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that Power and the oligarchy, which was now openly attempting to enslave the republic.

At this period of general dissatisfaction it is probable that a successful effort might have been made in favour of the Prince of Orange, if Great Britain could have obtained the co-operation of the King of Prussia; but the means of procuring that could not now be recovered.

When the Emperor's project for the acquisition of Bavaria was first known, it is probable that the King of Prussia would have gladly paid almost any price to secure the accession of Great Britain to the Germanic league, but, unfortunately, the regency of Hanover thought themselves scarcely less interested in the success of that league than the court of Berlin itself; and therefore requested and obtained the early and unconditional signature of his Britannic Majesty in his quality of elector. It was alledged that such a step was perfectly

fectly unconnected with the interests of his Majesty's kingdom, and could not in any shape commit either the British parliament or the cabinet; and in fact it was true, that the king did not impose upon himself any obligations in his regal character. But the Imperial courts, and indeed all the courts in Europe, conceived that the English parliament was not likely to see with indifference any attack which this measure might eventually draw on the dominions of their sovereign; and that, without being formally pledged to interfere, they would certainly, though voluntarily, take a part in the quarrel. This opinion, which no assurances or explanations from England were able to weaken, gave to the King of Prussia every advantage which he could have hoped to acquire by an alliance with Great Britain, and enabled him to reserve his interest in the republic as a bait, with which he hoped to obtain an alliance with France, who had not yet declared herself on the subject of the German disputes. He was, indeed, prodigal

Prodigal of advice to the Prince of Orange, and of memorials to the States General; but his advice was much more conformable to his own interests, than to those of the Stadtholder, and his memorials were treated with very little respect by the Patriots, who were perfectly aware of his unwillingness to act in opposition to the views of France.

IV.

Upon the whole, it will appear that some ground had been already gained by the English minister before the end of the year 1785, although he had been absent from his mission during the months of April, May, June, and July; and although the exertions of the French party had been animated by the presence of a new ambassador, M. de Verac, who arrived at the Hague on the 20th of January. The general indignation against England had been in a great measure removed; the designs of the Faction had been successfully exposed, and began to awaken general and increasing

increasing suspicion ; the court of Versailles had lost much of their popularity ; and a memorial on the subject of their alliance, which had been presented by Sir James Harris on the 22d of November, had produced such effect, that the mercantile part of the nation, and the East India Company in particular, began to look forward with considerable apprehension to the consequences of their connections with France.

VI

It has already been mentioned, that the court of Versailles had long been preparing for a new war in India, in which they were very anxious to procure the effectual co-operation of the republic. In fact, the strength of the Dutch in Asia had been the original motive of the great exertions made by France to secure their alliance ; and even the mission of M. de la Vauguyon had been a consequence of the resumption of a project formed by M. de Choiseul, soon after the peace of 1763. That minister had, in the very next year, transmitted a memorial to the Dutch East India

dia Company, stating the exorbitant power
 of the English in the East Indies, and sug-
 gesting a plan of concert between the
 French and Dutch companies, for the pur-
 pose of reducing it within more moderate
 bounds. This plan, however, was at the
 time suppressed by the friends of France,
 in consequence of its being observed by the
 late advocate of the Dutch company, that
 it would be impossible to keep it secret;
 and that when known, it would be ren-
 dered ineffectual by the English party in
 the direction. The present situation of
 affairs appeared more favourable. The
 debt of the Dutch East India Company to
 government, amounted to two millions
 and a half sterling; they were, therefore,
 in such a state of dependence, that the Pa-
 triots had hopes of prevailing on them
 either by threats or promises, to take into
 their pay, and transport to India about
 three thousand additional troops, who were
 become useless to the republic, by the
 termination of the disputes with the Em-
 peror. In this project, however, they met
 with

with greater difficulties than they had apprehended. The directors, who had been warned of this intention, evaded the request, alledging the distressed state of their finances; and at the same time, presented a memorial to the States General, containing a full and melancholy account of their situation, and requesting leave to open a loan under the sanction of government, for ten millions of florins. A variety of documents accompanying this memorial, tended to prove that their distress originated in the war with England; but as the establishment of this fact would have strongly militated against all the views of the Patriots, the oligarchy determined to suppress the memorial; and by their influence in the States General, procured a vote, that the distress of the company was owing to the mismanagement of the directors, and that it would therefore be proper to adjoin to the direction, six persons, to be nominated by the States of Holland, and appointed by the States General, as a standing committee for the purpose of correct-
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ing past, and preventing future abuses. This unjust and arbitrary measure, which would have transferred the whole direction to a few dependants of the oligarchy, immediately occasioned a most animated protest from the Zealand department, who boldly challenged the States to produce any specific instance of misconduct in the directors, and vindicated their former memorial by such forcible arguments, that the whole body of directors appeared to catch their spirit ; and towards the middle of January, were firmly resolved to oppose the intended usurpation.

This general alarm greatly embarrassed the Patriots. During the month of February, all the inferior agents attached to the French embassy, were employed at Amsterdam in assisting Van Berkel to gain over the votes of that city ; and they were so far successful, that the directors agreed to the formation of the board of controul, on condition that the commissioners, named by the States, should not be annexed to any of
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the four existing departments;* and that only two of them should be admitted into the assembly of seventeen. And as it was necessary that the jealousy of the directors should have time to subside, it was further agreed, that the supreme court should not be immediately summoned, but that the several boards should separately petition the States General for the sums which were immediately wanted.

This arrangement, however, by no means came up to the views of France. The court of Versailles, therefore, earnestly intreated their friends not to wait for the

* The Dutch East India Company is composed of six distinct associations, formed in the towns of Amsterdam, Middleburg, Delft, Rotterdam, Horn, and Enkhuyzen. These are divided into the four departments of Amsterdam, Middleburg, the Meuse, and North Holland. The general interests of the whole company are managed by a general court of directors, called the *Assembly of Seventeen*. In this assembly Amsterdam has eight votes, Zealand four; the four smaller companies one each. The seventeenth director is named alternately by Zealand, or by one of the four smaller companies, called *Les Petites Chambres*.

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participation of the company, but to send out immediately four ships of the line, and four frigates, with as many troops as they could carry, and to pay the expences of this armament from the revenues of the province of Holland. They observed, that the company would be effectually pledged by this measure, and must eventually consent to reimburse the money; they announced a war in India as an early and inevitable event; and they promised that the preparations of France should keep pace with those of the republic. At the same time, the French agents were directed to redouble their activity in Amsterdam, in order to persuade the directors to take three thousand French troops immediately into their pay.

So bold a proposal staggered even the pensionaries. In the mean time, their intrigues did not meet with the usual success, and the proposed augmentation was rejected, in the month of April, by the assembly of seventeen, then sitting at Amsterdam.

Indeed,

Indeed, a general and systematic opposition seemed now to be forming. The appearance of the Zealand pensionary, M. Van der Spiegel, at the Hague; and the rumour of some secret conferences between him and the English minister, considerably alarmed the oligarchy, who had constantly found themselves baffled in Zealand, by the talents and courage of this truly able man, and who dreaded from his future exertions the entire defection of his province. Guelderland and Friesland exhibited, at the same time, strong symptoms of disaffection; Groningen and Overijssel began to waver; and a memorial from the English minister, which at this critical moment seemed to have some hidden and serious purport, contributed to increase the embarrassment of the government. France, however, still continued to urge them forwards, and promise them such effectual assistance as should soon overpower all opposition in the republic, so that they at length determined to persevere in their exertions, for the purpose of transferring the direction of military

tary affairs in India from the company, to the secret committee of the States General.

The particulars of the formidable project which this committee were intended to carry into execution, have never transpired. It is known, however, that it was proposed to form an offensive and defensive alliance between the King of Travancore, Tippo Saib, the Mahrattas, and the Soubah of the Decan : that these princes were to be invited to attempt at one and the same moment a separate invasion of the English settlements ; that for this purpose they were to seize the first favourable opportunity, without waiting for a war in Europe ; and that the operations to be intrusted to each, were traced out in the plan with the greatest accuracy. It likewise appears that these princes were to have been assisted by a body of European troops, to be furnished by the French and Dutch. France, probably, intended to contribute as many as could be sent out to India without suspicion. The establishment of the Dutch, at

this time in India, amounted to eight thousand men, which the directors were desired to increase to fourteen. Their intended quota, therefore, may be estimated at about six thousand.

The execution of this project, as far as the Dutch were concerned, was intended to be intrusted to the Rhingrave, whose political and military talents were, at this time, in high estimation.

Fortunately for the Dutch company, and for the general repose of India, the execution of the plan was suspended by the present embarrassment of the Patriots; and, before the close of the next year, was effectually stopped by the annihilation of that authority which they had so long usurped. The dissatisfaction produced by the inordinate influence which the court of France were now seen to possess in the republic, was not confined to the East India Company, but pervaded even the towns of Holland, and the city of Amsterdam
itself,

itself, which had been hitherto the great bulwark of the Patriots. In fact, though this city is naturally, and from the spirit of its constitution, inimical to the privileges of the Stadtholder, it is not naturally attached to France, or disposed to promote the views of her ambition. A jealousy of the connection subsisting between the courts of London and the Hague, an exaggerated opinion of the advantages accruing from the American trade, and some temporary causes of disgust which Great Britain, at the time, neglected to remove, had violently excited the passions of the mercantile body, and hurried them into measures the most destructive of their commercial interests. On this subject, however, they are in general sufficiently quick-sighted. Their passions had subsided during the peace, and as the frequent journeys of M. de Verac to Amsterdam generally produced a visit from his competitor, Sir James Harris, their illusions and prejudices were gradually removed, and they began to perceive that they had de-

legated to an oligarchy, powers far more dangerous than any that had been claimed by the Prince of Orange ; and that this oligarchy was perfectly disposed to sacrifice their interests, and to expend their wealth in prosecuting schemes suggested by the ambition of a foreign power. In consequence of this discovery, they no longer wished to contribute to the further persecution of the Stadtholder ; and on the 9th of March, it was determined in their council, by a majority of twenty to fourteen, *That the command of the garrison at the Hague, belonged, of right, to the Stadtholder of the province.* This unexpected decision surprised, but did not dishearten the Patriots. The minority of fourteen entered a protest against it, and even insisted with the utmost violence, that their protest should be considered as the real resolution of the council, while the majority solemnly appealed to their own citizens, and to the regencies of the other towns in the province, against this notorious infringement on their constitution. The majority, however,

however, had nothing to oppose to their adversaries, but reason and argument; they were alarmed for the safety of their persons and properties, they were suspicious of each other, and therefore disconcerted and irresolute. The patriotic regents united in a plan of concert for the preservation of their power; they were secure of assistance from their own party, and from France; and had at their disposal, the populace of the city and the free-corps. They therefore ultimately prevailed: but the above-mentioned resolution of the council, and the conduct of the Amsterdam and Rotterdam deputies in the States of Holland, on the same subject, abundantly prove that a great revolution had now taken place in the general sentiments of the nation, and that the Patriots were almost universally considered as the avowed instruments of France, and their government as a military despotism.

While the Faction were thus labouring at Amsterdam, to throw an unlimited

power into the hands of the three penfionaries, their plan required that they ſhould adopt an oppoſite conduct in the provinces; and that by encouraging among the burghers an oppoſition to the magiſtrates, they ſhould weaken the power of the provincial ſtates, and thus inſure the ſupremacy of the Province of Holland. This conduct was moſt ſucceſsfully followed at Utrecht. The town of Utrecht, which had taken the lead in forming a body of free-corps, had been early diſtinguiſhed by its oppoſition to the *Reglémens*, under which the Stadtholder exerciſed the power of nominating the magiſtrates. The diſputes on this ſubject had now continued, with little interruption, for more than three years; and, towards the year 1785, the burghers had acquired ſuch a decided ſuperiority, that the regents had conſented that a new mode of election ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and that a certain number of deputies ſhould be choſen to repreſent the burghers in the council. It had been farther determined on the 20th of December, that the reform-

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ed constitution should be considered as accepted from that day forward ; that in three months it should be formally established ; and that the regents and burghers should be then sworn to its observance. The magistrates, however, from whom these promises had been extorted by force, were by no means disposed to relinquish a power with which they thought themselves legally invested : they constantly gave way to the violence of the burghers, and as constantly resumed their concessions when that violence was thought to have subsided. The burghers therefore, in the month of July, published a manifesto, declaring, that if the magistrates should still refuse to pay a proper attention to their complaints, they would do themselves justice by force ; and that they would communicate this resolution to the King of France, the ally and benefactor of the United Provinces. This manifesto was brought to the Hague, presented in form to M. de Verac, and by him transmitted to Paris. On the 2d of August the burghers

put their threats in execution. They assembled in arms, summoned the council to appear, vacated the seats of such as thought fit to absent themselves, and delivered the keys of the town to one Gordon, formerly of the Scotch brigade. By this revolution the Patriots acquired complete possession of a most important town, which henceforward was considered as attached to the Province of Holland; and as their agents were at the same time employed in the principal towns of the other provinces, the oligarchy hoped effectually to prevent the execution of any plan that might be concerted for the restoration of the Stadtholder.

It is now proper to revert to those measures, of which the Prince of Orange was more immediately and ostensibly the object.

During the beginning of this year the States of Holland suspended their deliberations on the subject of the Hague garrison,

son, M. Van Berkel being [then employed in drawing up an answer to a letter and memorial transmitted from *Loo*, on the 5th of December, and in devising what was called a plan of accommodation, containing certain conditions, which, if accepted, would render the Prince completely dependent on the Faction. It was at the same time determined, in case of a refusal, to threaten him with an impeachment, and thus induce him, if possible, to retire from the republic. The conditions were sent to *Loo*, and rejected without hesitation: in consequence of which the Rhingrave was dispatched to Paris to convey an account of these proceedings, and to request the co-operation of that court in the future measures of their friends. It was likewise determined to convince the Prince by a decisive measure that all prospects of recovering the command of the Hague garrison were now desperate. It was therefore ordered, that military honours should in future be exclusively reserved to the members

bers of the States of Holland and States General ; that the gate of the palace which had been hitherto appropriated to the Stadtholder, should be open to the members, in the same manner as the other gates of the court ; and that the arms of the Prince should be effaced from the colours of the Dutch guards, and those of the States substituted in their place. This measure produced, on the 16th of March, a riot among the populace at the Hague. One Mourand a hair-dresser, attempting to stop Gyzlaer's carriage in its passage through the Stadtholder's gate, was immediately apprehended ; and, on proof of the fact, condemned to die. This punishment was, however, afterwards commuted into a sentence of perpetual imprisonment, at the express request of Gyzlaer himself, who was extolled as a pattern of clemency for refusing to revenge so enormous an offence by the blood of the unfortunate victim.

Soon after the termination of this farcical tragedy, an answer was received from
France,

France, promising the Faction every assistance from that court, and M. de Verac was directed to deliver a memorial, stating the determination of the King not to interfere in the internal disputes of the republic, nor to suffer such intervention from any other foreign power. This memorial gave great satisfaction to the Patriots, who hoped soon to throw all the legislative and executive powers of the government into the hands of the three pensionaries, to give the direction of the navy to Paulus, one of their ablest and most active partizans, and to appoint the Rhingrave commander of the forces. A counter memorial, which arrived soon after from the court of Berlin, did not give them much disquiet, as it was not expected that the King of Prussia, in his present state of infirmity, would venture to support his memorial by any military operations: but a similar paper delivered by Sir James Harris on the 5th of July, when the dissatisfaction occasioned by the East India business was at its height, produced,

duced, as has been already mentioned, no small degree of anxiety and speculation.

In this memorial indeed his Britannic Majesty disavowed all intention of interfering in the domestic concerns of the commonwealth, but he at the same time expressed his earnest wish, “ that the government should be preserved in those hands to which it had been intrusted by the constitution, and founded on principles established by the unanimous consent of the whole nation.” And this unexpected declaration, combined with the present opposition of the East India company, of the town of Amsterdam, and of the provinces of Zealand and Guelderland, together with the ambiguous conduct of some other provinces, seemed to prove that some great design was in agitation, under the auspices of the English minister. It was also remarked, that this memorial was treated with uncommon attention by the States General; six provinces appointed committees

tees to take it into consideration, and proposed a suitable and respectful answer. At the same time the assembly came to the resolution of disbanding the Rhingrave's legion; a measure singularly offensive to the States of Holland, and particularly so at this moment, as it was the first defeat which they had experienced in that assembly during seven years, and indicated a return of vigour and independence in the representatives of the republic.

The Patriots were also apprehensive that the arts by which they had gained their ascendancy in the different towns of Holland might now be employed against them: they determined therefore to hasten their measures, to overpower by violence the rising spirit of opposition, and, if necessary, to involve the whole country in anarchy and confusion. Gyzlaer was sent into Guelderland to excite revolts at *Elburg* and *Hattem*; Van Berkel to Utrecht; the free-corps were every where encouraged to come forward; and the States of Holland were directed

directed to reprobate in the strongest terms the proposed answer to the memorial ; and to threaten, if such an answer should be adopted, to withdraw themselves from the union. They likewise resolved to preserve the Rhingrave's legion as a provincial corps, in case the States General should persevere in their purpose of disbanding it. In the midst of these proceedings an account was received of the death of the King of Prussia, which had happened on the 17th of August.

The intervention of the court of Berlin had hitherto been uniformly detrimental to the affairs of the Stadtholder. The late King, though he had long lost all hopes of success in his favourite measure of breaking the alliance between France and Austria, had still continued to adopt the same principles of policy with respect to the republic, and had recommended to the Stadtholder a complete acquiescence in the views of France, and a disavowal of any active measures which his friends might
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be disposed to advise from hopes of the future co-operation of Great Britain. The new monarch had neither the same fears of the court of Versailles, nor the same prejudices against that of St. James's. From this moment therefore it was expected that a more decided conduct would be adopted by the Prince; and that a general crisis could not be much longer delayed.

The States of the province of Utrecht were now retired to Amersfort, where they could freely deliberate on the present posture of their affairs; and where they continued to deliberate without coming to any conclusion. The states of Guelderland were more active. They resolved, in concert with the Prince of Orange, to subdue the revolted towns of Elburg and Hattem, and detached General Sprengelen on that service with two regiments of infantry, four squadrons of dragoons, six pieces of heavy cannon, and several field-pieces. He arrived, on the fifth of September,

tember, before Hattem; summoned the free-corps in garrison; and received for answer, that they were determined to defend it to the last extremity, and to perish in the ruins, rather than submit. He then began his approaches in defiance of a cannonade from the town, by which he lost only one man, and upon his firing a shot into the air, and a shell into the town, the free-corps retreated into Overijssel, and the place surrendered. On the news of this event the free-corps at Elburg immediately retired, and the troops took possession of the town.

The States of Holland had foreseen, and endeavoured to provide against these measures. They had directed that the troops on their repartition should not interfere in any disputes between the burghers and the regents; they had written a circular letter to all the provinces, exhorting them to prevent the intervention of the military; and on finding that this advice was disregarded, they prepared to enforce it by more effectual measures.

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On the 4th of September, Gyzlaer moved that two acts passed in 1663, called the acts of indemnity should be read, after which he proceeded to make a long and violent attack on the conduct and character of the Prince of Orange. He asserted, that “to the personal misconduct of the Stadtholder were to be attributed all the misfortunes which had so long afflicted the republic ; that he had been the author of every miscarriage during the last war ; and that the dread of intrusting such a person with power, had produced the late disgraceful peace with the Emperor. That his letter to the States of Holland on the subject of the Hague garrison, had proved his want of submission to his sovereigns : that he had now thrown off the mask, and in concert with some of the provinces, was preparing to establish his tyranny by force of arms ; that it was therefore necessary to insist on an explicit declaration of his intentions ; and that if his answer should not give them complete satisfaction, it would become expedient

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to suspend him, provisionally, at least, from his office of Captain General." It was then determined to dispense with the oath which obliged the army to obey the orders of the States General ; to call in all the troops on the repartition of the province from their respective garrisons ; to dispatch the Rhingrave to Utrecht, and to place strong garrisons in the ports of Naarden and Woerden. A letter was likewise sent to the governor of Bergen-op-Zoom, enjoining him not to obey the orders of the Prince of Orange, who had directed the march of that garrison into the province of Guelderland ; and when, in consequence of these contradictory orders, the matter was referred to the States General, the States of Holland attended that assembly in a body, (a circumstance hitherto unprecedented) and insisted on a compliance with their injunction. These violent measures, added to the successful exertions of the French agents in Friesland, Overijssel, and Groningen, effectually checked the rising spirit of the States General. Notwithstanding

standing the remonstrances of the Stadtholder and of Guelderland, they submitted to the removal of twelve regiments into the province of Holland, and even consented to issue orders for that purpose. The States of Holland, therefore, having now carried their point, proceeded on the 22d of September, to suspend the Prince of Orange from his office of Captain General, to rescind their resolution of 1766, which gave him the patronage of their army, and to put into commission the military departments of the province.

This precipitate conduct of the Patriots, and their open attempts to seduce the countries of the *Generality*, by which they greatly increased the jealousy and dissatisfaction of the provinces, were probably occasioned by the desire of embarrassing the negotiations of Count *Goerts*, who had arrived at the Hague on the 13th of September, with a new project of accommodation from the court of Berlin. The leaders of the Faction were averse to every

such plan, because they were too far advanced to recede with safety, and it was not the interest of the court of Versailles to repress their violence. If the Patriots had succeeded so far as to procure a decided majority in the States General, and to carry on their measures through the medium of that assembly, it is evident that their acts would have become the acts of the republic: France, as the ally of the republic, would have had a right to guarantee the new constitution; and the King of Prussia would have had no pretence to interfere. In the mean time, they were not responsible for the measures of a party in Holland, and did not risk a rupture with Prussia, which they were extremely solicitous to avoid. They therefore assumed at Berlin the appearance of the most perfect moderation. They deplored the miseries of the republic, and the unfortunate blindness of the Prince of Orange, which they ascribed to the interested advice of his adherents, and to the artifices of the English minister at the Hague. They professed the most earnest

earnest desire of promoting, in concert with his Prussian Majesty, a permanent plan of conciliation; and as these professions were followed by the mission of M. Portail, and afterwards of M. de Rayneval to the Hague, the Prussian cabinet began to be apprehensive that the situation of affairs in Holland had been misrepresented, and that it would be easy to obtain, through the influence of France, the re-establishment of the Prince of Orange on fair and honourable conditions, whereas every other project for his restoration was exposed to almost insuperable difficulties.

M. de Rayneval arrived at the Hague on the 18th of November, and soon afterwards proposed such terms of accommodation as proved that he was by no means an equitable and impartial mediator. He required, “ That the Prince should submit to a revision of the *Règlements*; that he should renounce the right of issuing *patents*, and of recommending candidates

for the regencies in Holland ; and on these terms promised that the Prince should be re-instated in the command of the Hague garrison, not as a matter of *right*, but as a *distinction*, and with no power but that which he possessed as president of the *Ge-committeer-de-Raaden*." The Stadtholder seemed disposed to negotiate on the subject of the conditions required from him, as a price for the restoration of the garrison, but positively refused to admit the limitations annexed to the grant. These, indeed, were so extremely humiliating, and at the same time so unimportant to the safety of the constitution, that the obstinacy with which France insisted on them is almost incomprehensible.

It should seem that the disorder which had long prevailed in the French finances, and of which the cabinet of Versailles now began to feel the effects, must have opened their eyes to the difficulty of carrying their Indian project into immediate execution ; and yet nothing but the hopes of realizing

realizing this project could justify the enormous expences by which they supported their influence in the republic. The Stadtholder, by submitting to a revision of the *Réglemens*, would have given up a principal source of his influence in the provinces: by abandoning the *patents* he would have lost much of his power over the army; and as the recommendation of candidates for the magistracy in the towns of Holland was rather a custom than a right, it could not easily be retained after the cession of the two former privileges. The government, therefore, would have been new-modelled; the usurpations of the Patriots would have become constitutional rights; the interposition of Prussia or Great Britain would have been effectually prevented; and France would have necessarily become the sole arbiters of all future disputes between the two parties in the republic.

The impolicy of throwing away these certain advantages will appear still more

striking, if we take a view of the state of parties in the different provinces towards the close of this year.

Guelderland was completely Stadtholderian. The nobles, who in this province vote individually, and compose one half of the States, were warmly attached to the Prince, and could neither be corrupted or intimidated: they were also violently incensed by the haughtiness with which the States of Holland had interfered in the affair of Hattem and Elburg, and the deputies of the towns concurred in the same sentiments.

In the province of Holland, indeed, the Faction was triumphant: but the majority in the council of Amsterdam were disaffected; and if these had been joined by the sailors and artizans of the dock-yards, who were entirely devoted to the Prince, that great city would have been easily recovered. Rotterdam was also in opposition to the Patriots; and even in the smaller towns, their

their ascendancy was only preserved by such means as might have been employed against them with equal effect.

Friesland, which from the superior influence of the monied men, usually concurs in all the measures of the province of Holland,* had taken great offence at the attempts made by that province to seduce

* The states of this province are composed of four divisions, viz. *Oostergo*, *Westergo*, *Lewen-Woerde*, and the towns; and each of these divisions possesses one vote in the assembly.

The three first divisions are formed of a certain number of *Grietnies* or bailiwicks, each of which sends to the States two deputies, one of whom is a noble, the other a commoner: so that the vote of *Oostergo* is conveyed by twenty deputies, that of *Westergo* by eighteen, and that of *Lewen-Woerde* by twenty-two.

The right of voting depends on the possession of lands of a certain description; so that a *Grietman*, to insure his election, must possess so much land as will give him a majority of votes within his *Grietnie*. He therefore purchases as much as he can; but, as he wants the votes only, he generally mortgages the land immediately. The *Menonites*, are the great capitalists of this province, and the usual mortgagees of these estates, so that their influence is very considerable.

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the countries of the Generality, and was now active in opposition to the Patriots.

Zealand had long supported the cause of the Stadtholder, who possesses a considerable degree of influence in this province. All the noble families having become extinct in the course of the Spanish wars, he represents that body in the States in quality of Marquis of Terveer and Flushing. He also usually disposes of the votes of these towns, and consequently commands three voices out of seven, which compose the assembly. The great abilities of the Pensionary Van der Spiegel, and the jealousy of the East India Company, in this province, were a farther security for its attachment to the Prince of Orange.

* Utrecht was perfectly inactive. The town was in the hands of the Patriots ; the

* The constitution of this province resembles that of Holland, excepting that the ecclesiastical body form a third member in their states.

states

states were well-affected to the Stadtholder. The two small provinces of *Overyffel and † Groningen were kept in subjection by the free-corps.

From this review, it appears that the real strength of the two parties was by no means exactly balanced, and that any hopes of foreign assistance would have immediately given to the Orange party a decided superiority. This, indeed, was so obvious, that it cannot be supposed to have escaped the sagacity of the French minister; we must therefore conclude that his caution was overpowered by the importunity of the Patriots. Of these, the more

* In Overyffel the nobles vote individually, as in Guelderland. For this reason, and because it is one of the *Provinces aux Reglémens* it usually takes part with the Stadtholder.

† The states of this province are composed of the deputies from the towns, and those of the flat country or Ommelanden. The first were hostile to the Stadtholder, the second friendly; but on account of a dispute about precedence, the deputies from the towns only are sent to the assembly of the States General, at the Hague.

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violent were disposed to bring matters to an immediate decision; to dismiss the Stadtholder from his remaining offices; to annex the town of Utrecht to the province of Holland, and thus form a separate and independent sovereignty: while the more moderate proposed to delay these violent measures until they should be fully prepared to resist the attack with which they were apparently threatened. The hopes of the Orange party were visibly raised; a general confederacy of the disaffected provinces appeared to be in agitation; the house of the British minister was notoriously the center of opposition; so that the intervention of Great Britain, aided perhaps by the court of Berlin, began to be seriously apprehended.

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M. de Rayneval having again unsuccessfully renewed his proposal for an accommodation, declared his mission at an end, and left the Hague on the 16th of January, 1787; and as Count Goerts also received his

his letters of recall on the 29th, the rival parties were now once more abandoned to their own efforts. The situation of both was not a little embarrassing. The Orange party could not hope for success without foreign assistance; the disposition of the court of Berlin appeared very doubtful; and the interposition of Great Britain, without the concurrence of Prussia, would have been extremely hazardous. Though, in all parts of the republic, the majority of the people were dissatisfied with the present government, it was evident that this dissatisfaction arose from very different causes; and that every province, and almost every town was guided by a separate interest. The States General were wavering and dispirited; and although a general confederacy of the provinces was in agitation, it was not concluded. Without such a confederacy, the court of St. James's could not interfere, and the party were afraid of entering into it without a certainty of such assistance.

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The Patriots, on the other hand, were engaged in almost equal difficulties. The province of Holland was greatly distressed for money; the free-corps were clamorous for their pay; and two millions of florins were immediately wanted to satisfy the demands of the Emperor. It was thought that an increase of taxes could not be attempted with safety, so that the States General determined to procure this sum by means of a loan; but even this measure, which could only tend to palliate the distress, was not passed with that unanimity which the constitution requires, three provinces having entered their protest against it. At the same time, the humiliating situation of the republic, with respect to foreign powers, reflected considerable disgrace on the measures of the government. The Emperor seemed determined to open the navigation of the *Zwijn*; and the Spaniards to insist on the formal recognition of their right of sailing round the Cape of Good Hope. In order to dissipate the alarm occasioned by this last claim,

claim, the States General transmitted to the court of directors a plan for erecting forts and establishing magazines at Trincomalé, the Cape, Malacca, and Batavia, and directed the Stadtholder to appoint proper engineers for that purpose; but notwithstanding these measures, and the promise of farther exertions, the dissatisfaction of the people continued to increase, and a formidable opposition was raised by the towns of Rotterdam, Enkhuyfen, Horn, Delft, and the Briel. The embarrassment of the Faction was still farther increased; first by the illness of M. de Vergennes,* and soon after by his death, which happened on the night of the 12th of February.

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* This eminent personage will probably occupy a distinguished rank in the annals of modern politics. By his merits alone, he gradually raised himself from the lowest employments in the diplomatic line, to the post of minister for foreign affairs, in which elevated station he continued near thirteen years. He was a most able politician, in the ordinary acceptation of that word; cool, subtle, active, and persevering: too fond perhaps of temporary expedients, of which
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The patriots however, though alarmed, were not discouraged. During the month of February, they brought forward, in the States of Holland, through the deputies of Haarlem, two propofals, which, if carried,

his mind was inexhaustibly fertile; and which, from the timidity of his character, he usually preferred to more vigorous measures. His reputation in France never equalled that of M. de Choiseul, because he neither possessed the high birth and connections, nor the splendid eloquence which adorned and justified the ambition of that minister, to whom he was also inferior in political courage, and in the science of court intrigue. But he was more successful, both at home and abroad, because he inspired less jealousy. The principal, or rather sole aim of his politics, was to increase the relative strength of France by diminishing that of the British empire; in which view he framed in the years 1778 and 79 that formidable league between France, Spain, and the United States of America, which was afterwards fortified by the accession of the Dutch republic. During that important period, he exerted himself with the most unwearied assiduity, and his intrigues and negotiations pervaded almost every quarter of the globe; as a singular instance of which may be mentioned, his attempt to unite all those petty princes, who have lately divided and desolated the Persian empire, in a confederacy with the courts of Stockholm and Constantinople, for the purpose of occupying the attention of Russia, and preventing its eventual interference in favour of Great Britain.

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carried, would have probably annihilated for ever the hopes of the Stadtholderian party. The first was, that “whereas the constitution of the province of Holland is, *in its principles*, a popular representation, it is necessary that the right of the *people* be duly ascertained; that the members of the States be rendered responsible to *them* for their conduct, and be precluded from taking any decisive step without *their* consent.” It is obvious that the admission of this principle would have been favourable to liberty, if the people had been able to exercise the power transferred to them from

In the prosecution of his general plan, he effected all that intrigue could effect; but even his successes ought to afford a salutary caution to the restlessness of ambition. The desertion of Sweden and Turkey, the two allies of France, in which she had always placed her principal confidence,—the annihilation of the French interest in Holland,—and the present weakness of the executive power in France, and the exhausted state of her finances, resulting from the enormous expence of the late war, and from the spirit of independence introduced by the American connection—are the ultimate consequences of that splendid system, which had, for a time, been considered throughout Europe as a masterpiece of political dexterity.

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the municipal councils ; but the burghers were disarmed, and the right of directing the members of the states must consequently have devolved on the free-corps. This motion was referred to a committee.

The second proposal was, " That the Rhingrave's legion should in future be stationed in garrison at the Hague." The Patriots would thus have obtained full possession of the seat of Government, and would have been enabled, by means of the military, to direct as they might think fit, all the measures of the States General. The States of Holland, therefore, instead of adopting the motion, simply voted an augmentation of the Hague garrison.

It is probable that the Patriots had foreseen this opposition. They knew that the regencies of the principal towns were generally adverse to their cause, and that the majority which they had hitherto commanded in the States of Holland, was on the point of deserting them. It was therefore

fore necessary, that they should have recourse to the populace and the free-corps, and the first of the abovementioned proposals appears to have been brought forward in order to establish a popular ground, on which they might justify the system of violence, that they were now determined to pursue.

Their principal object was to gain possession of Amsterdam. The council of that city had adopted a line of conduct which was in their present circumstances most completely unsafe and impolitic; and, while they incensed the Patriots, refused to co-operate with the friends of the Prince of Orange. Far from consenting that the Rhingrave's legion should be quartered at the Hague, they voted its entire suppression; but soon after rescinded that resolution through fear of an armed mob, which at the instigation of the Patriots, surrounded and besieged the Stadt-house, and threatened to remove the present council, and elect a new one by their own authority.

The magistrates however, when recovered from their alarm, determined to persevere in their former vote, and conveyed suitable instructions to their deputies in the States of Holland, in consequence of which the committee chosen in that assembly, to take into consideration the subject of the Rhin-grave's legion, was adverse to the Patriots. These therefore again assembled the populace, compelled the magistrates to recall their deputies, to reprimand them for their conduct, and to consent that the vote of the city should in future be conveyed by the pensionaries alone, or that at least the remaining deputies should be chosen from the same party. This resolution was signified to the States of Holland by the two pensionaries, Van Berkel and Vischer, who at the same time entered their protest against the late vote.

The council now saw the absurdity of their conduct, and solicited the assistance of the burghers, and of the sailors and artisans in the dock-yards, who were attached
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to the Stadtholder : but a remnant of jealousy prevented them from offering such terms as these were disposed to accept, so that the negotiation fell to the ground. In the mean time the Patriots determined to prevent the possibility of future opposition ; they again collected the populace on the 21st of April, and compelled the council to dismiss from their body, nine of the principal members who were obnoxious to the Faction. On the 23d they pursued the same conduct at Rotterdam, with the same success ; and as they had already secured, partly by similar means, and partly by corruption, many of the smaller towns in the province, they were now completely assured of their majority in the States of Holland, and at leisure to direct their attention to farther operations.

Their next object was to secure the province of Utrecht : and as this could only be done by means of a military force, they determined to release the troops belonging to their repartition from their oath of alle-

giance to the States General, and with this army to surround the frontiers of Utrecht, and incorporate the two provinces. This project seems to have been the signal of universal anarchy. The Council of State published an order enjoining the army not to obey the States of Holland beyond the limits of their sovereignty; the States General confirmed this prohibition; and the States of Holland struck off from their list such parts of the army, as were quartered in Guelderland. The States of that province united with those of Utrecht for their common defence, and determined to repel force by force. The pensionaries had delegated nearly the whole of their authority to Paulus and the Rhingrave, who were perfectly disposed to carry matters to extremities. The States General and the States of Holland were at open variance: the republic appeared to be on the eve of a general civil war; and hostilities actually commenced on the 9th of May, between a part of the free-corps quartered in Utrecht, and a body of three hundred soldiers,

foldiers, who having been ſent to occupy the poſt of Jutphaas, near that town, were defeated with the loſs of about eighty men, killed and wounded.

The two parties, therefore, were now fairly committed. The Patriots appeared ſecure of aſſiſtance from France, and it became neceſſary to decide whether Great Britain ſhould interfere in ſupport of the Stadtholder, or abandon for ever her intereſts in the republic. The moment was preſſing. A ſpirit of revolt appeared ſo ſtrongly among the peaſants, that an immediate and general infurrection of their body was apprehended; and though it was obvious that ſuch an event could only tend to aggravate the diſtreſs of the republic, without producing any advantage to the Prince of Orange, it was not eaſy to moderate the intemperance of their zeal. In this critical ſituation of affairs, Sir James Harris received orders to repair to England, and quitted the Hague on the 19th of May.

Such an event necessarily occasioned very general anxiety and speculation. The Patriots, though they continued to rely on the promises of the court of Versailles, had long been alarmed at the distress in which the French finances were involved ; and at the publicity, which by the avowal of that distress, had been given to the *political expences of France in Holland*. They knew that the people of that kingdom were discontented ; that its government was weak and embarrassed ; and that the present critical state of Europe, must necessarily divert a part of that attention which the French court had hitherto shewn to the concerns of the republic. The situation of Great Britain was evidently very different. The return of peace had been immediately followed by the restoration of her credit, and by the increase of her commerce. Mr. Pitt appeared to possess, in an uncommon degree, the confidence of the nation, and of his Sovereign ; and he had shewn in the course of his administration, that his great abilities

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ties were accompanied by uncommon firmness and decision of character. Should the spirit of enterprize so natural to his age and disposition, induce him to interfere in continental politics, and to employ in that interference the whole force of the nation which he governed, it seemed doubtful whether the court of Versailles would be justified in risking so dangerous a contest.

The hopes of the Orange party at this juncture, were of course proportioned to the alarm of the Patriots. They had besides the fullest confidence in the abilities of Sir James Harris, and in his zeal for their service. But they dreaded the tedious deliberations of a cabinet council ; they were sensible that the British ministers, in order to secure the success of their interference, must adopt a plan of decided and systematic exertion, which would be always liable to be interrupted by the avocations of parliamentary business ; and that, to obtain an object of future and
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contingent advantage to the nation, they must hazard a new war, and consequently risk their own popularity, by necessitating the imposition of fresh burthens on the people. It was therefore with the greatest satisfaction that the friends of the Stadtholder beheld the return of Sir James Harris to the Hague on the 1st of June, from which it was generally inferred, that he was now ordered to persevere in his exertions, and that the English ministers at the courts of Versailles and Berlin, would probably be instructed to co-operate with him on the objects of his mission.

In the mean time the state of affairs in the republic became every day more critical. The Prince of Orange had addressed to the States General a letter and manifesto, signifying to them his intentions of acting against the town of Utrecht, in consequence of orders which he had received from the States of that province ; and this vigorous measure gave such general satisfaction, that addresses in support of it

it were signed by more than thirty thousand persons in the province of Holland. The Patriots, on the other hand, were not less active. In the beginning of June, the States of Holland declared the admiralities of Amsterdam and the Meuse *provincial**, and enjoined them not to obey the orders of the States General. They commanded several armed vessels and gunboats to be fitted out in the *Zuyder-Zee*, in order to intercept, if necessary, the trade of Friesland and Guelderland, and to molest the coasts of those provinces. They likewise continued their endeavours to obtain exclusive possession of the troops on their repartition, to disarm the remainder, and thus to annihilate the power of the States General; and when that assembly

* The Dutch navy is under the direction of five admiralty boards; 1st, that of Amsterdam; 2d, that of the Maes (which is established at Rotterdam); 3d, that of North Holland (residing at Horn and Eukhuysen alternately); 4th, that of Friesland (at Harlingen); and 5th, that of Zealand, at Middleburgh. These boards are entirely dependant on the States General, and are not subject to any provincial orders or regulations.

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determined to indemnify such officers as should be cashiered by the province of Holland, the States of that province, at the instigation of Gyzlaer, instituted a committee to inquire “ Whether, in the present circumstances, when four of the confederate provinces were manifestly entering into a conspiracy against Holland, it would be safe to carry on any deliberations in company with the deputies of those provinces, or expedient even to permit such deputies to continue to meet within the territory of the province.”

As it was obviously essential to the interests of the Patriots, that the States General should continue at the Hague, where the members of that assembly were necessarily influenced by the fear of exposing their persons and their properties, and were consequently less inclined to adopt a vigorous system of conduct, it is probable that this violent measure was only intended to intimidate and embarrass. In fact, it was soon followed by a new plan of conciliation,

tion, with which the Patriots amused their adversaries, in hopes of gaining time to disband or reduce the army ; after which they hoped to carry their point by means of the free-corps, who now amounted to about twenty thousand men, and whom they were forming into regiments. And as they found that the execution of their designs was always subject to be retarded by the dilatory forms inseparable from the Dutch government, it was determined to delegate the executive power of the province to a special board, who should be enabled to exercise it with greater effect and activity. For this purpose the States of Holland, on the 12th of June, appointed a committee, consisting of five members, whom they invested with almost dictatorial authority. Their assembly was established at Woerden, where they could conveniently superintend the operations of the troops in the *Cordon*, which extended on one side through Kronenburg, Wesep, and Muiden to Gertruydenberg, and on the other, through Oudewater, Iffelsein, and Vianon,

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to Gorcum. The members to whom this important commission was intrusted were personally so insignificant, that they were apparently chosen only as instruments in the hands of the Rhingrave, and accordingly one of the first acts of their authority was to confer on that officer the post of commander in chief of the free-corps, and other troops in garrison at Utrecht.

After these exertions, the Patriots would have had little apprehension concerning the final issue of the contest, had its decision been referred solely to the internal forces of the republic; but, as foreign powers were highly interested in the event, it was necessary to their safety, that they should receive from France the most unequivocal assurances of support and assistance. They were told by the French ambassador, that his court was determined to defend them to the last extremity, but that from the long duration of their disputes, the jealousy of other nations was awakened; that France, as the ally of the
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republic, could only interfere with propriety when called upon by the republic; and that it depended upon her party, by speedy and vigorous exertions, to procure for her such a pretext, as might justify her ostensible interference. They therefore now determined by another effort, to attempt the recovery of their influence in the assembly of the States General. This might be done in two ways. The province of Utrecht was so divided, that its vote, if it could not be secured by the Faction, might be rendered inefficient. Friesland might be recovered through the influence of the monied interest in that province. In this case, the provinces of Guelderland and Zealand would be left in a decided minority, and the Patriots would govern the republic under the forms of the constitution.

If this should fail, it was determined to procure, if possible, by means of the free-corps, a new election of deputies in all the adverse provinces; to form these into a
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distinct assembly of delegates ; and to consider them as the legal representatives of the republic.

In pursuance of these plans an assembly was convened at Utrecht, on the 15th of June ; three new deputies were chosen, and received into the assembly of the States General as representatives of the province, by means of the president of the week, whose casting vote had been secured by the Patriots : and notwithstanding the opposition of the former deputies, aided by those of Guelderland and Zealand, the new majority proceeded to rescind all the late resolutions of the States General. On the next day, however, the Council of State and Chamber of Accounts, entered their protests against the informality of this proceeding ; and on the 18th, in consequence of fresh instructions, transmitted from Friesland to their deputies, the former representatives of the province of Utrecht were reinstated, and tranquillity again restored to the assembly.

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In the mean time, the *commission of five* established at Woerden, proceeded to exercise in its utmost extent, the great power with which they were invested. They proscribed as deserters, all the officers and soldiers who had returned to their allegiance to the States General; they seized all the passage boats on the Maes, the Lek, and the Rhine; they dismissed the Castellan of Woerden, and took possession of the castle, and encouraged the free-corps in the commission of every species of violence. The *council of deputies* complained, that their authority was entirely superseded by this new and despotic commission; the States General exclaimed against the interruption of all internal commerce; and even the Patriots themselves began to be alarmed by the insolence of the volunteers, and disgusted by the haughtiness of the Rhingrave. These circumstances, added to the ill-success of the attempt on the States General, and to the unsatisfactory language of the French ambassador, who now contented himself with offering the mediation

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of his court, in lieu of that military aid which was necessary to the success of their measures, induced the Pensionaries to suspend their operations ; and a new plan of pacification was brought forward by Gyzlaer and Zeebergen, and transmitted to the Prince of Orange.

While the Patriots were thus dissatisfied with each other, and with the court of Versailles, the exertions of the Stadtholderian party assisted by the English minister, had not been unsuccessful. About three thousand of the troops had been restored to the States General ; the four friendly provinces began to unite in a solid plan of union ; and a strong opposition had been set on foot within the province of Holland, by means of the Equestrian order, and the seven smaller towns. But though the future prospects of the Orange party were improved, the distress of the country was increased, and the tyranny of the Woerden commissioners became every day more intolerable. The English minister, popular
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as he was, had been unable to inspire the members of the States General with that spirit of enterprize, by which his own mind was animated, or to induce them to co-operate with foreign powers for their own preservation. It was to be feared that this supineness at a moment when the people were incensed almost to desperation, and every where inclined to revolt, might be attended with the most fatal consequences. Under these circumstances the Princess of Orange determined to repair to the Hague, and endeavour by her presence to stop the farther progress of public disorder.

The journey was fixed for the 28th of June; and the few friends who were intrusted with the secret, repaired on the evening of that day to the *House in the wood*, where, after waiting many hours in a state of the utmost suspense and anxiety, they received an account that her Royal Highness had been stopped near Haestrecht by a detachment of free-corps, acting under the orders of the commission of Woerden,

and had been removed under a guard to Schoonhoven. From this report the inhabitants of the Hague received the first intimation of the Princess's intended journey. All particulars were unknown. It was uncertain whether she was not still a prisoner, and this uncertainty filled the minds of the people with alarm and consternation. They waited in silence and solicitude for the consultations of the States General, and expected from the representatives of the republic, the signal to attempt a rescue. But their High Mightinesses were not yet roused from their apathy. They contented themselves with expressing their disapprobation of the insult offered to her Royal Highness; the people sunk into despondence; and the States of Holland, encouraged by the pusillanimity of their adversaries, boldly approved the detention of the Princess, and took that opportunity of extolling the attention shewn by the Woerden commissioners, to the preservation of order and tranquillity within the province.

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When the particulars of this extraordinary affair became public, they exhibited in the most advantageous light, the firmness and intrepidity of her Royal Highness. She had been stopped between Schoonhoven and Gouda, at about five o'clock ; had been long detained in her carriage surrounded by the free-corps ; and was then conveyed to a place called *Goejan-verwelle-Sluis*, where she remained strictly guarded during four hours, before she received a visit from the commissioners of Woerden. Even by them she was at first treated as a prisoner, and was interrogated on the motives of her journey in presence of the officer of free-corps, who had constantly continued in the room since her first detention : but the dignity of her behaviour soon awed them into respect and civility, and they retired from her presence, abashed and disconcerted. The Princess was then at her own request reconducted to Schoonhoven, where she arrived at eleven o'clock at night. From hence she wrote to the States General and

to the States of Holland, to explain the motives of her intended journey ; at the same time complaining in dignified, though moderate terms, of the treatment she had received ; but finding that there was no prospect of her obtaining permission from the States of Holland to proceed to the Hague, she set off on the 30th for Nimeguen, where she arrived in the afternoon ; and was received with a degree of joy proportioned to the fears occasioned by her detention.

The States of Holland now proceeded to take such farther measures as they pretended to think necessary to the safety of their province. A body of two hundred free-corps was stationed at the Hague : all addresses and petitions in opposition to the measures of the present government were declared to be seditious ; and certain popular ballads and *tunes*, which had been formerly composed in praise of the House of Orange, were strictly prohibited. But the tyrants of the people were themselves kept

kept in subjection by the instruments of their despotism. The free-corps published a declaration, stating, that it was their intention to do themselves justice whenever they should be aggrieved ; they dispersed in small bodies over the province, disarmed the burghers, deposed the regents, and threatened the enemies of their cause with ruin and massacre ; and the States of Holland were obliged to submit to, and countenance these enormities. Their whole authority was now delegated to the commissioners of Woerden, and through them to the Rhingrave, who seems to have entertained hopes of appropriating to himself, all the privileges which were formerly possessed by the House of Orange.

In the provinces, however, the state of parties was very different. In Guelderland and Zealand, the Faction was completely vanquished ; and at Flushing, the Patriotic magistrates having failed in an attempt to seduce the town, were treated with every species of insult and indignity

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by the populace. In Utrecht, the town of Wyck, which had set the example of rebellion to the rest of the provinces, surrendered without firing a gun, to the army under the command of the Prince of Orange.

At the same time, the language of the court of Versailles was by no means satisfactory to the Patriots. M. de Montmorin contented himself with offering his good offices and mediation, from which little danger was apprehended by the Orange party, because Sir James Harris had received the fullest assurances from his friends in the provinces, that they would never consent to such a measure, unless his court should think fit to accede, as a party, to the mediation. On the other hand, the King of Prussia was seriously bent on obtaining for his sister, a full and honourable reparation of the insult offered to her by the Patriots, and had determined to employ the most effectual means for that purpose. A memorial on this subject had
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been presented to the States General, and States of Holland, on the 10th of July, by M. de Thulemeyer, and this was farther enforced on the 13th. The Patriots therefore, were fully sensible that they were menaced with a storm which it would be extremely difficult to avert or resist ; but as they still flattered themselves with the hopes of assistance from France, they prepared to meet the contest with courage, and determined to merit the interference of that court in their favour.

Accordingly, at the beginning of August, a camp for four thousand free-corps was traced out half-way between Utrecht and the Hague : and various contracts were entered into for the supply of horses and hay. It was resolved in the States of Holland to recruit the army on their repartition, so as to complete the number of twenty thousand effective men ; to add to these as soon as possible, five thousand more, whom it was proposed to levy in France, and transport by the way of
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of Dunkirk ; to raise the new corps of *Matha*, *Sternbach*, and *Meyern*, amounting in all to two thousand five hundred ; and to add five hundred to the Rhingrave's legion, by which means the army of the province would be increased to thirty thousand men. Preparations were made at Naarden and Woerden, to overflow the country. An arsenal near Woerden, belonging to the States General was seized by order of the commissioners, and the arms were distributed to the free-corps. The number of these volunteers was daily increased by the continual influx of adventurers, who arrived from all quarters, and particularly from France, to offer their services to the Patriots. Emissaries were sent into Friesland to attempt the recovery of that province ; after which it was determined to try, as soon as possible, the nomination of a counter assembly of States General, to meet under the protection of the free-corps.

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On the 19th of August, various detachments of these troops from Woerden and Leyden, amounting to fourteen hundred men, commanded by French officers, arrived with four pieces of cannon at Vorstchooten, a village, distant about five miles from the Hague. The council of deputies, who were then sitting, immediately ordered out two pickets, one to the entrance of the wood near the town, and another to Ryfswick, to defend the avenues ; but these guards were, on the next day, removed by order of the States of Holland. On the 21st, the free-corps marched to Delft, and summoned that town, which immediately surrendered. Here they turned out all the regents who were supposed to be well affected to the Orange party, and seized the arsenal and magazine of powder, both of which belonged to the States General, and were the most considerable magazines in the province. On the evening of the same day, they detached fifty of their body, with two pieces of cannon to the Hague, where they were admitted without

without opposition, by order of the States.

On the 24th, the body assembled at Delft was increased by various reinforcements to two thousand, who daily issued out in small parties, and plundered the neighbouring villages. Another body of fourteen hundred were dispersed in North Holland. The *Half-wegen Sluys*, between Amsterdam and Haarlem, was occupied by a party of three hundred, who received orders in case of an attack, to break the sluice, whereby they might overflow the country, almost to the gates of the Hague.

While these operations were carried on within the province of Holland, the Patriotic party in Friesland were not unsuccessful. They began by gaining possession of Franeken, which they immediately fortified, and from thence detached, on the 31st of August, a body of three hundred men, who seized the important post of Makhum, by which they secured a communication

munication by water with the city of Amsterdam, and at the same time commanded the principal sluices of the province.

After this success, the commissioners of Woerden were enabled to complete their plan for the defence of the province. They determined to abandon all that tract of land comprehended between the rivers Maes and Waal, and the countries of the *Generality*; to remove the garrisons from *Huesden*, *Gertruydenberg*, and *Klundert*; and to establish the two extreme points of their defence at Gorcum and Naarden. They ordered a dyke to be thrown across the *Linze*, which at Gorcum flows into the Maes, in order to overflow the interval between Gorcum and Darlem; and they proposed to cover with water a large tract of meadow called the *Lies-veldt*, in order to protect Schoonhoven and Ouderwater.

Although the French ambassador received his letters of recall before the end of August, and though he publicly declared it
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to be the wish of his court, that a proper satisfaction should be given to the King of Prussia, neither the courage of the Patriots, nor their expectations of assistance from France, appeared to decrease till near the middle of September. It should seem therefore, that the private assurances of M. de Verac, as well as those of M. Bourgoïn, by whom he was superseded, were extremely different from their public professions. In fact, the court of Versailles had spared no pains in order to divert the King of Prussia from the prosecution of his purpose : they had endeavoured by the most moderate and conciliatory language, to draw the courts of London and Berlin into a negotiation, on the subject of the claims brought forward by the two parties in the republic ; and as the season was now far advanced, they were perhaps justified in hoping, that before such a discussion could be terminated, their party would become completely triumphant, and the Stadtholder be effectually cut off from all hopes of external assistance.

Indeed

Indeed it was evident, that any delay on the part of the King of Prussia would be attended with very disagreeable consequences to the friends of the Stadtholder. After the admission of the free-corps at the Hague, the situation of its inhabitants became extremely insecure, and the pillage of the town was hourly apprehended. It was reported, that the council of war, composed of the chiefs of the free-corps, who were assembled at Amsterdam, had determined to seize and detain as hostages, for their own security, all the principal friends of the Orange party. Even the house of the English minister was frequently threatened; and it was supposed, that his public character would prove a very insufficient safeguard in the moment of general licentiousness and confusion. The other foreign ministers resident at the Hague, though less exposed to danger, thought it necessary to concur in a *note verbale*, requiring the protection of the government. The orders of the States General were wholly disregarded, and it is probable that the members

members of that assembly would soon have been reduced to the necessity of transferring their meetings from the Hague to the Briel, the only strong post in the province which was still possessed by the Orange party. It was defended by a garrison of four hundred Swiss troops, and about three hundred well-affected armed burghers, and it might have received speedy and effectual succours from England. This measure, however, was rendered unnecessary by the subsequent revolution.

In the mean time, the British cabinet had most ably persevered in the system which they had adopted at the solicitation of their minister at the Hague. Their language to the court of Versailles had been firm and dignified ; and by their instructions to Mr. Ewart at Berlin, they had enabled that active negotiator, to do away the misrepresentations of the French party, and to confirm his Prussian majesty in that line of conduct, to which he was so strongly inclined, from a just sense of his
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own dignity, and from his tender affection for the Princess of Orange. An army equally formidable from its numbers, from its discipline, and from the extraordinary abilities of its commander, was assembled in the duchy of Cleves, under the orders of the Duke of Brunswick, who in the beginning of August, repaired to Nimeguen, in order to concert with the Prince of Orange, the plan of future operations. M. de Thulemeyer, when he presented, on the 6th of August, a pointed memorial requiring a proper satisfaction for the insult offered to the Princess of Orange, was directed to notify to the States General the consent of the King his master, to concur with Great Britain in a joint mediation, for the purpose of finally adjusting the disputes between the two parties in the republic. At the same time, the mission of Mr. Grenville, who was supposed to possess, and was known to deserve the entire confidence of Mr. Pitt, was considered as a still stronger proof of the concert subsisting between the courts of London

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and Berlin, and of their anxious concern for the interests of the United Provinces. The letters of M. de Rheede, the Dutch minister at Berlin, confirming these dispositions, produced a visible discouragement among the Patriots, and perhaps contributed to prevent the final suspension of the Stadtholder, which was agitated in the States of Holland on the 9th of August. A memorial presented about the same time by Sir James Harris, containing an offer of mediation from his court, and the almost immediate acceptance of that mediation by the provinces of Zealand, Guelderland, and Utrecht, still farther increased the embarrassment of the Faction ; but as they continued to rely on the assistance of France, and were encouraged by the lateness of the season, by the strength of their country, and by the precautions taken for its defence, they persevered to the last in refusing to accept the terms offered by the King of Prussia.

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The army of the Duke of Brunfwick assembled at Wefel, on the 2d of September; on the 8th, a note verbale was prefented by M. de Thulemeyer, who at the fame time infifted on an answer within the term of four days, and accordingly on the 10th and 11th, this paper was taken into confideration by the States of Holland.

The language of the Patriots upon this occafion was ftill firm and decifive. *Van Berkel* declared, “ That the note of the King of Pruffia was too infulting to deferve any confideration, and fhould only be answered by filent contempt. That every real Patriot muft have too much confidence in the juftice of his caufe, and in the protection of providence, to fubfcribe to fuch humiliating conditions. That the city of Amfterdam would not even deliberate concerning the acceptance of terms, fo injurious to a fovereign. He trusted, that thofe who had fecretly excited the diffentions, and aggravated the

miseries of their country, would ultimately become the victims of their perfidy. The conduct of the States of Holland, he said, had been blameless, because it had been necessary. He therefore advised them to communicate the King of Prussia's note to his Most Christian Majesty; and to request his protection against the tyrannical and despotic designs of the court of Berlin." *Gyzlaer* expressed himself nearly in the same terms. His colleague, *Roo de Westmaas* declared, "That a sovereign state could never consent to make excuses to the wife of its first servant." *Zeebergen* also held the same language; and in fine, it was determined by the majority to answer, "That the States could not enter into any deliberation on the points mentioned by M. de Thulemeyer in his note, but that they consented to send two deputies to Berlin, to inform his majesty of the erroneous statement which had been made to him on the subject of the obstacles that had prevented

vented the prosecution of the Princess's journey to the Hague."

On the 10th, M. de Verac quitted the Hague; and on the 13th the Duke of Brunswick, being justly dissatisfied with the answer transmitted from the States of Holland, put his army in motion, and entered the territories of the republic. A detachment of about three thousand men began their march towards Zutphen, in their way to Overijssel and Groningen; while the main army, consisting of about eighteen thousand, entered the province of Guelderland in three columns, two of which, under the Generals Lottum and Gaudi, encamped near Arnhem; and the third, commanded by the Duke in person, crossed the Waal at Nimeguen, and encamped near Lend. On the next day, the Duke advanced as far as Tiel; on the 16th, he marched to Asperen; and on the morning of the 17th, to Gorcum; where the garrison, after firing a few shots, surrendered themselves pri-

soners of war. Of the other two columns, the first, which was commanded by General Lottum, advanced on the 14th to Lunteren ; on the 15th to Amersfort ; and on the 16th to Hilversum, a village in the neighbourhood of Naarden. The second column, under the command of General Gaudi, was formed into two divisions, one of which having crossed the Leck near Arnhem, they proceeded on both banks of that river towards Nieuport. At the approach of this column, the Patriots, on the 16th abandoned Vianen, the Vaart, and the city of Utrecht, and that whole province surrendered to the Prussians.

On this day, the altercations in the assembly of the States of Holland were long and violent. The three pensionaries did not venture to appear at the meeting, but it was proposed by their friends, that in consequence of the exposed situation of the Hague, the assembly should be transferred to Amsterdam ; and that in order to retard the progress of the Prussian army, the

the Dutch guards should be sent to reinforce the garrison of Gorcum. This last proposal was stopped by the Equestrian order, who insisted on taking it *ad referendum* ; and the farther consideration of the other was postponed to a future day. On the 17th, the Equestrian order proposed, that satisfaction should be given to the Princess, and that the Prince of Orange should be invited to the Hague : but although this was accompanied by the most pressing solicitations from the States General, and though an account of the surrender of Gorcum reached the Hague on the same evening, nothing was concluded till the following day, when the States of Holland, after repealing their various edicts against the Prince of Orange, and consenting to disband the free-corps, at length acquiesced in the proposal of the Equestrian order.

This measure indeed could no longer be delayed with safety. The States General, as soon as they learnt that Utrecht was

abandoned, had recovered their spirits, and resumed their authority. They rejected with the utmost contempt a letter from the Patriotic regents at Franeken ; authorized the Stadtholder to send troops to the assistance of the legal States of Overijssel ; recommended to that assembly, to grant a free passage through their territory to the Prussian troops ; and issued the strictest orders in the countries of the *Generality*, to stop all recruits for the Patriotic army. They had likewise directed, that the Hague should be put in a proper state of defence ; in consequence of which, the free-corps had immediately dispersed, and had abandoned their arms, their colours, and their artillery.

The Hague now exhibited a scene of universal exultation. The churches were all decorated with orange banners ; the houses with festoons of flowers ; and every individual thought it necessary to wear some badge of this favourite colour. The streets were filled with multitudes of people,

people, singing their famous ballad in honour of the Stadtholder; and congratulating each other on his joyful restoration. The musquets of the free-corps were discharged, and their colours torn by the populace, before the windows of Sir James Harris's hotel. Wherever this minister appeared, he was welcomed by the people, with loud and repeated acclamations; and those who could approach his carriage, pressed forward to scatter orange flowers on him, and to testify by their expressive, though incoherent exclamations, the gratitude they felt for his spirited and persevering exertions in their favour. At the same time, his house was filled with the most valuable effects of those who, from their conduct during the late troubles, were apprehensive of being exposed to pillage. The populace, however, contented themselves with breaking a few windows, and demolishing some furniture belonging to the Patriots: and in a short time tranquillity and good order were completely re-established.

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On the 20th, the Prince of Orange arrived at the Hague: he was met at a small distance from the town, by the corps of Orange burghers, by whom he was drawn through the streets in triumph. On his arrival at the palace, he received deputations from the different colleges in the republic, and was formally reinstated in all the privileges of which he had been dispossessed. The States of Holland voted unanimously, a congratulatory address; and on the next day, rescinded their resolution of applying to France for assistance, and passed a vote to notify to that court, the restoration of the Stadtholderate, and the termination of all disputes in the republic. It was remarkable, that this measure was proposed by the town of Dort, which had been so long distinguished by its violent opposition to the Stadtholder. On the 24th, the Princess of Orange made her entry, in the same manner as the Prince her husband, excepting that her carriage was drawn by women.

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In the mean time, the Prussian army had been uniformly successful. The Patriots, menaced on one side by the friends of the Orange party, and on the other by the Prussians, abandoned town after town, and from all quarters retreated to Amsterdam. Colonel Matha indeed had made a shew of defending Naarden, but the authority of the Woerden commissioners, under whom he acted, being annihilated by the revolution, and orders having been issued by the States of Holland, to all their governors, to give free admission to the Prussian troops, this town, as well as Wesep, was surrendered. On the 27th, the Patriots evacuated Francken, so that tranquillity was restored in the provinces of Overijssel and Groningen, and unanimity in the assembly of the States General. On the same day, a deputation from Amsterdam arrived, with proposals for an accommodation, at the Duke of Brunswick's head-quarters at Leimuyden, and an armistice of three days was agreed on for the purpose of concluding the negotiation; but the Patriots were
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not yet disposed to accept the terms offered by the King of Prussia, so that at the expiration of the truce, matters were once more referred to the decision of the sword.

The confidence of the Patriots at this time, will appear less extraordinary, if we consider the strength of their defences, which were apparently capable of resisting all that courage and discipline, and military skill could effect against them. The city of Amsterdam is protected on its northern side by the Zuyder-Zee ; at a small distance to the west, is the Haarlem-lake ; and the intermediate country is a morass, at all times impassable, excepting by persons on foot, provided with the means of crossing the numerous ditches, by which the meadows are always surrounded, and often intersected. At this time too, the whole country was covered with water. The city therefore, could only be approached by means of the roads which run along the tops of the dykes, and are six in number.

number. The first road is that of Haarlem, which enters the city from the west : the second, from the south-west runs through the village of Amstelveen : the third, from the south through Ouderkirk : the fourth, through Abooude and the Duyvendregter-brug : the fifth, from the south-east, by Wefep and the Diemerbrug ; and the last, from the east, passes through the town of Muyden, which is regularly fortified.

These roads are in many places so narrow, that only one piece of artillery could be employed by an attacking army, against such works as might be raised on them. It was therefore obvious, that by choosing proper posts, it would not be difficult to keep the assailants at a distance, and prevent the bombardment of the city. The position taken by the Patriots for this purpose was as follows :

On the Haarlem road, they had occupied the strong post of Half-wegen-fluys, where
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the communication between the Haarlem lake, and the Ye is prevented by large flood-gates, over which the road passes. A strong battery appeared to render this post perfectly impregnable on the side of Amsterdam: and a variety of trenches, abbattis, and batteries, protected it on the side of Haarlem, where an attack was principally apprehended: besides which, by opening the sluice, an inundation might have been produced, which would have flooded the whole country, almost as far as the Hague. The second post was that of Amstelveen, distant about two leagues from the city, on the road to Alphen. The head of this village was fortified by a battery of four guns, which raked the dyke; in front were several rows of palisades and abbattis; and the dyke was cut through in many places. A number of field-pieces on the dyke leading to Anderwyck, were so disposed as to flank any attack in front. Behind the village were seven traverses thrown up at small distances on the dyke, with trenches between them, and at about half-

half-way between Amstelveen and Overtoom, (a village at the distance of an English mile from Amsterdam) was another complete battery of three guns, palisaded and otherwise fortified, so as to be impregnable by storm. The third post of the Patriots was at Ouderkirk, at the distance of a short league to the eastward of Amstelveen. The four dykes by which it could be approached, were all fortified with the same care as those above mentioned. The fourth post, at Duyvendregter-brug, and the fifth at Diemer-brug, were equally strong : and Muyden, the sixth, completed the line of defence, which extended about seventeen English miles. On the Zuyder-Zee, were stationed many armed vessels, to prevent any attack which might have been attempted by an embarkation from Naarden. Such was the position of the Patriots on the 30th of September.

The Duke of Brunswick, having reconnoitred the situation of the enemy, was convinced,

vinced, that a direct attack could not be attended with success : at the same time, the armed vessels on the Zuyder-Zee, and the inundation of the country, rendered it impossible to turn any of the posts on their left, or in their centre : he determined, therefore, to distract their attention by a general assault in front, endeavour to turn the village of Amstelveen, and at the same time attempt to surprise the post at Half-wegen.

The Patriots having neglected the Haarlem-lake, the Duke did not fail to take advantage of their inattention. On the 30th of September, at ten o'clock at night, a body of eight hundred men, destined to attack the Half-wegen-fluys, were embarked on board of thirty small vessels at Aalsmeer, and landed near Sloten. Here they left about three hundred men to secure their retreat, and proceeding by Oostdorp, arrived before day-light at the post of Half-wegen, which they completely surprised

prised without suffering any loss. A French officer, and about twenty French artillery-men were made prisoners.

At the same time, a second detachment of seven hundred men sailed from Aalsmeer to the head of the Nieuwe-meer, and having landed on the meadows in the rear of the enemy's works at Amstelveen, waited for the signal of attack. About three hundred men who were likewise destined to gain the rear of these works, marched from Aalsmeer, along a narrow foot-path, and arrived within a short distance of the main road. The Duke, with three battalions, a corps of Jagers, and a detachment of hussars, advanced early in the morning in front of Amstelveen, and by means of wool-sacks, established a long six-pounder in battery, at the distance of about eight hundred yards from that of the enemy.

At five o'clock in the morning, of the 1st of October, three guns were fired at intervals of ten seconds, and this signal,
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for a general attack was repeated by a discharge of cannon and musquetry by the different corps. The body of seven hundred men which had disembarked at the head of the Nieuwe-meer, pushed forward till they reached the great road from Amstelveen: three hundred took post to oppose any sally from the city, and the remainder advanced towards the battery in the rear of Amstelveen. On their way they surpris'd many of the enemy, who were repairing to their alarm-posts, from the houses along the road. Before they reached the battery, they were joined by the column which had marched by the foot-way from Aalsmeer, and had surpris'd a battery of one gun that commanded their path. Both columns now pushed forward, and drove the enemy from the main battery, and from the seven traverses, quite into the village. At this moment, by some mistake of orders, the troops were stopp'd in the midst of their success, and ordered to halt at the last traverse, for more than four hours; during which time, the
enemy

enemy having brought forward two six-pounders from the village, incessantly cannonaded them with grape and cannister. At length the Prussians were ordered to attack the village, and succeeded ; the Patriots abandoned gun after gun, and house after house, and at length fled in disorder towards Ouderkirk.

During the long interval of suspense, which had been occasioned by the above-mentioned mis-apprehension of orders, the Duke of Brunswick had persevered in the attack in front, which he knew to be fruitless, and had been exposed to the greatest personal danger: fortunately, however, the fire of the enemy was so ill directed, that the Prussians, in eleven different assaults, which took place on this memorable day, lost no more than one hundred and fifty privates, and four officers.

The fate of the Patriots was now decided. The posts of Amstelveen and Half-wegen being taken, the other out-

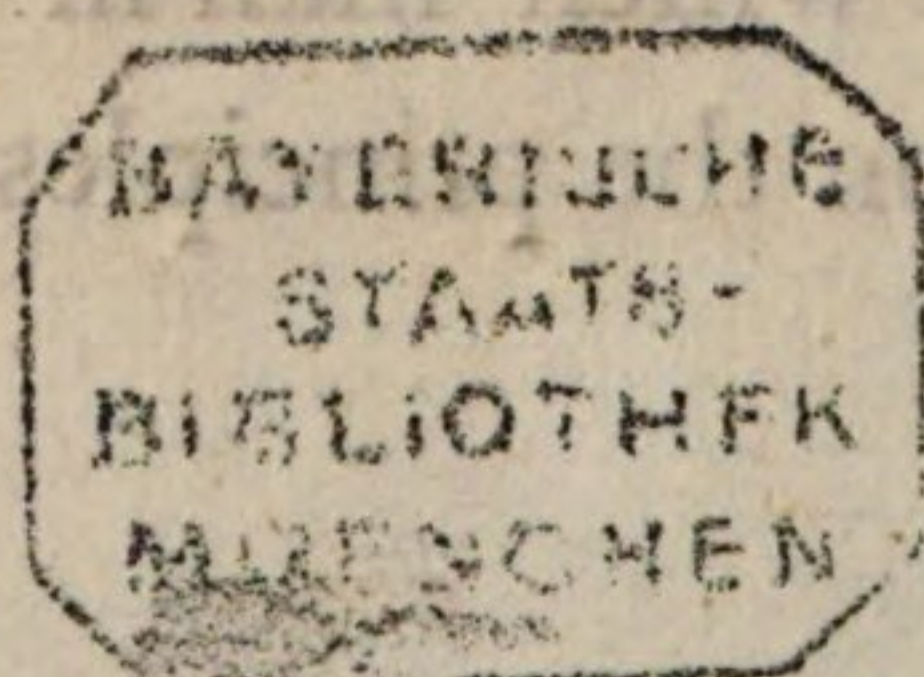
posts were no longer tenable, and the city of Amsterdam was at the mercy of the conqueror. On the next day, therefore, deputies were sent to the Duke to propose terms of capitulation: on the 6th, the representatives of the town took their seats in the assembly of the States of Holland, and agreed unconditionally to all the resolutions which had been passed since the 18th of September; and on the 10th, the city was surrendered by capitulation. The magistrates who had been forced upon the town by means of the free-corps, were immediately dismissed; the expelled regents reinstated in their former authority; and a garrison of between two and three thousand men, was at their request ordered into the town; the free-corps were disarmed, and it was agreed, that the seventeen obnoxious persons, of whom a list had been transmitted by the Princess to the States of Holland, should be declared incapable of ever serving the republic.

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The revolution was now complete; and no time was lost in pursuing such measures as might tend to insure its duration. The States of Holland, in consequence of petitions from the different towns, authorized the Prince of Orange to appoint a commission for the purpose of new-modelling all the regencies in the province; in consequence of which, those who were disaffected to the new government, were dismissed from their employments, and thus disabled from troubling the public tranquillity. A new form of oath, containing a more precise recognition of the Stadtholderate, as an essential part of the constitution, was prescribed to the magistrates. It was proposed to the different provinces, that they should mutually guarantee to each other the form of government now established: and this important resolution, which has since been passed, and in virtue of which, the whole force of the confederacy may be directed against any province which shall in future attempt to innovate on the principles of the Union, seems

seems to have given to the Dutch constitution as much stability as it is capable of receiving. At the same time, all attempts to disturb the domestic tranquillity of the republic, by means of any foreign interference, appear to be effectually guarded against by the treaties of alliance, which the States General have concluded with the courts of London and Berlin, and by the close union that subsists between those two important powers.

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History of the late revolution in the Dutch republic

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